የአክሊሉ ማስታወሻ

Aklilu Remembers



አዲስ አበባ ዩኒቨርሲቲ ፕሬስ

ጸሐፌ ትዕዛዝ
አክሊሉ ሀብተወልድ

መስከረም 10 ቀን 1967 ዓ.ም.
ለመርማሪ ኮሚስዮን ያቀረቡት ጽሑፍ

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ጸሐፌ ትዕዛዝ
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አዲስ አበባ ዩኒቨርሲቲ ፕሬስ
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፪ሺህ፫ ዓ.ም. ድጋሚ ታተመ::

አዲስ አበባ፣ ኢትዮጵያ

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ማውጫ

ጸሐፊ ትዕዛዝ አክሊሉ ሀብተወልድ
መስከረም 10 ቀን 1967 ዓ.ም.
ለመርማሪ ኮሚሲዎን ያቀረቡት ጽሑፍ

- ተዚህ ቀጥሎ የተጻፈው እስር ቤት በነበርኩ ጊዜ በቃል የማስታውሰውን ነው።
- ፋይልና አስፈላጊውን ሰነድ ሳላይ ስለሆነ ያመተ ምህረትና ወራት፣ የስም ይህን የመሰለ ቲኒኒሽ ስህተት ሊኖር ይችላል።
- በጠቅላላው ግን ታሪኩና ፋክቱ እውነተኛና በዶኩመንትም ፕሩፍ ሊሆን የሚችል ነው።

ጸሐፊ ትዕዛዝ አክሊሉ ሀብተወልድ

1. ትምህርት

ሀ/ መጋቢት 5 ቀን 1904 ተወለድኩ፤ ያማርኛ ትምህርቴን በራጉኤል ቤተ ክርስቲያን አጠናቀቅሁ።

ለ/ የውጭ አገር ትምህርት ምኒልክ ተማሪ ቤት ለሁለትና ለሦስት ዓመት ተተማርኩ በኋላ፤ እ.ኤ.አ. በ1925 ዓ.ም አለክሳንድርያ፣ ግብጽ በሚገኘው የፈረንሳይ ሊሴ ትምህርቴን እንድቀጥል ተላክሁ።

ሐ/ እዚያም እ.ኤ.አ. ተ1925—1931 ትምህርቴን አጠናቅቂ የፈረንሳይን ባካሎሪያ /ባሸልዩ/ ተቀበልኩ።

መ/ ተዚያም ፓሪስ ሶርቦን ዩኒቨርሲቲ ገብቼ የሕግ ትምህርት ጀመርኩ። ሶርቦን ዩኒቨርሲቲ ሕጉን ስማር *ኦት ኤቱድ* /Houte Étude Connerdiala/ እንዲሁም *ሲዩንስ ፖለቲክ* የሚባሉ ከፍተኛ ትምህርት ቤቶችም ገብቼ እማር ነበር።

በነዚሁም ትምህርቴን አጠናቅቂ እ.ኤ.አ. ከ1931—1936 ያገኘኋቸው ዲግሪዎች፦

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1.1 ትምህርቴን በምማርበት ጊዜያት ስለ አገራችን ያደረኩት የፖለቲካ እንቅስቃሴ

አለክሳንድርያ ሊሴ በነበርኩበት ጊዜያት የኮፕቲክ ፓትርያርክ አቡነ ዮሐንስ ኢትዮጵያን ጎብኝተው ነበር። አዲስ አበባንም በጎበኙበት ጊዜያት 60 /ስልሳ/ ልጆችን ላስተምር ብለው ጠይቀው፤ 60 ልጆች ይዘው

መጥተው ነበር። አገራቸው ተደረሱ በኋላ፣ «እኔ የጠየቅሁት ስድስት ልጆች ብቻ ነበር፣ እነሱ ግን ስልሣ ላኩልኝ» እያሉ አማረሩ። ተዚህም በኋላ ልጆቹ በምግብም፣ በልብስም ከባድ ጉዳት ላይ ወደቁ። ተማሪዎቹ ተካይሮ እነሱ ካሉበት፣ አሌክሳንደርያ እኛ ወዳለንበት ሦስት ልጆች ልከው፣ «ይኸው ራቁታችንን ነን፤ በምግብም በመጉዳት በከፊል በሽተኛ ሆንናልና በተቻላችሁ እርዱን»፣ አሉ። ሲሲ ተማሪ ቤት ያለነው አንድ ሃያ የምንሆነው ተማሪዎች ያለንን ትርፍ ልብስ ላክንላቸው። ወዲያውኑ ይህንን ሁኔታ ለግርማዊነታቸው (ያን ጊዜ እልጋ ወራሽና ባለሙሉ ሥልጣን እንደራሴ ነበሩ) በቴሌግራም አስረድቼ የሚያስፈልገው እንዲደረግ አሳሰብኩ።

የግብፅ መንግሥት በሙቀትና በረፍት /ቫካንስ/ ጊዜያት አለክሳንደርያ እየተዛወረ ስለሚሠራ፣ ያን ጊዜም ሁኔታው ይህ ስለነበረና መንግሥቱ አለክሳንደርያ ስለሚገኝ፣ ታንዱ ባልንጀራዬ መሸሻ ኃይሉ ጋር፣ አሁን የሕግ መወሰኛ አባል፣ ውጭ ጉዳይ ሚኒስቴር ሄደን ተሚኒስትሩ ጋር እንዲያገናኙን ጠይቀን ተብዙ ክርክር በኋላ ተቀበሉን። እሱም እንዲጋጣሚ የመገናኛ ሚኒስትርና የውጭ ጉዳይ ተጠባባቂ ሚኒስትር፣ ሃይማኖቱም ኮፕት ነበር። ስሙን አሁን አላስታውሰውም። ሁኔታውን በዝርዝር አስረድተን፣ «ትችሉ እንደሁ ጤናቸው ተጠብቆ በሚገባ እስተምሩ፤ አትችሉም እንደሁ በሕይወታቸው እንዲመለሱ አድርጉ። ግን እንደዚሁ ዝም ብላችሁ እነኝህ ልጆች በጉዳትና በበሽታ ቢያልቁ፣ ወደፊት የኢትዮጵያ ቤተክርስቲያንና የኮፕት ቤተክርስቲያን ግንኙነታቸው አስጊና እማቋረጥ ደረጃ ስለመድረሱ፤ እኛ ያሁኑ ተማሪዎች፣ ወደፊትም በየደረጃው የኢትዮጵያ አስተዳዳሪዎች እንደመሆናችን እናረጋግጥልሀለን»፣ አልነው። እሱም በነገሩ ተነክቶ፣ «እኔ ነገ ካይሮ እሄዳለሁ፣ እናንተም ልጆቹንም ወደዚያው ፓትርያርክ ይዛችሁዋቸው እንድትመጡ። ግን ያላችሁት ውሸት የሆነ ጊዜያት ወዮላችሁ!» ብሉን፣ ቀጠሮ ሰጠን።

በቀጠሮው ሰዓት ሚኒስትሩ ተልጆቹ ጋር አገኘን። በኔ አስተርጓሚነት፣ ሚኒስትሩና ፓትርያርኩ በተገኙበት፣ ልጆቹ ችግራቸውን ሁሉ አስረዱ። ሚኒስትሩም በኔና በመሸሻ ኃይሉ አስተርጓሚነት ልዩ

ልዩ ጥያቄ አደረገላቸው። በጠቅላላው ሁኔታው አሳዛኝ መሆኑን ሚኒስትሩ እንዲረዳው የተቻለኝን ያህል አስረዳሁ። በመጨረሻም ሁኔታው እኔ በፊት እንዳልኩት መሆኑን ገባው። በዚህ ጊዜያት በግርማዊነታቸው ለንጉሥ ፋሩቅ አንድ ቴሌግራም እንደተላከ ተነገረው። ቴሌግራሙም፣ «የታመሙት ልጆች ሆስፒታል ገብተው እንዲታከሙ፣ ሌሎችም ታልተቻለ እንዲመለሱ»፣ የሚል ነበር። ተዚህም በኋላ ሚኒስትሩና ፓትርያርኩ እዚያው እኛው ፊት እየተመካከሩ ለልጆቹ፦

ሀ/ ምግብ በደንብ እንዲሆንላቸው፣

ለ/ የኪስ ገንዘብ በወር አስፈላጊው እንዲሰጣቸው፣

ሐ/ ልብስም ሁለት ሁለት ለያንዳንዳቸው እኛው ተገንዘብ ያገርው ጋር ገዝተን እንድንሄድ ስምምነት አደረግን።

በስምምነቱም መሠረት ተገንዘብ ያኸርውና ተልጆቹ ጋር ገበያ ሄደን፣ ለያንዳንዳቸው ሁለት ልብስ ገዝተን ሰጠን። /እንደማስታውሰው ልጆቹ የሚመርጡት ልብስ ዋጋው በጣም የወጣውን ስለሆነ ገንዘብ ያገርው ለቅሶ ለቅሶ ይለው ነበር።/ በዚህ አኳኋን ሁሉንም በደንብ ታደረኩ በኋላ ወደ እለክሳንደርያ ተመለስኩ። የተማሪ ቤታችን ድሬክተር፣ «አንተ ተማሪ ነህ፣ ፖለቲካ ውስጥ መግባት የለብህም፣ ካይሮ የምትሄድበት ገንዘብ አልሰጥህም» ብሎኝ፣ ነበር። የሄድኩትም ተባልንጀሮቼ ተማሪዎች የውጭ አገር ገንዘብ ተበድሬ ነበር።

ይህ ደህና ሁኔታ ለስድስት ወር ተቆየ በኋላ እንደገና ልጆቹ ችግር ላይ መውደቃቸውና እስጊ ሁኔታ ላይ መሆናቸውን ሳኩብን። ሁኔታውን ስናስመረምር እውነትም በሚያሳዝን ደረጃ ላይ ነበሩ። ወዲያውኑ ለጃንሆይ ቴሌግራም አደረኩና ጉዳዩን አስረዳሁ። እሳቸውም ኢየሩሳሌም ያለንን ቆንሲል አቶ ጳውሎስን አዝዘው ካይሮ መጥተው ልጆቹ ወደ አዲስ አበባ እንዲመለሱ አደረጉ።

ከተማሪዎቹ መካከል የማስታውሳቸው እነ ፈለቀ እርገቱ /አሁን ቀኛዝማች/፣ ዘውዴ ገብረሕይወት /አሁን ቢትወደድ/፣ ተፈራ ሰይፉ፣ ተፈራ ሸሹና ወልደማርያም ኃይሌ /አሁን ጄኔራል/ ይገኙበታል። የዚህን

ታሪክ አቶ መሸሻ ኃይሉና ጀኔራል ወልደማርያም ኃይሌ ደህና አድርገው ያውቁታል።

1.2 ሶርቦን ዩኒቨርሲቲ ትምህርቴን በማጠናቅቅበት ጊዜያት

ሞሶሉኒ ኢትዮጵያን ለመውረር በበለጠ ያበረታታው ተፈረንሳይ መንግሥት ጋር ያደረገው ስምምነት ነው። ፈረንሳይ በትራዲሽን የኢትዮጵያ ወዳጅና ደጋፊ ሆና ሲኖር ተብዙ ዘመን ጀምሮ ነው። ይኸውም በባቡሩና በጅቡቲ ምክንያት ነው። በወዳጅነታችን ምክንያት ጃንሆይ በ1924 (እ.ኤ.አ.) ብዙ መኳንንቶች ይዘው አውሮፓን የጉበኙ ጊዜያት ሄድኳርተራቸውን ፓሪስ ነበር ያደረጉት። ተፓሪስ ሉንዶን፣ ተፓሪስ ሮም እንደዚሁም ስዊድንን እየጉበኙ ይመለሱ ነበር።

የሂትለርና የጀርመን መነሳት ፈረንሳይን ስለአሰጋ፣ የፈረንሳይ ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትር መሲዬ ላቫል (Mr. Laval) ተጣልያን ጋር መቀራረብና ይልቁንም ሙሶሉኒን ተሂትለር ለመለየት፣ በብዙ መንገድ ሙሶሉኒን ለማስደሰት ፈለገ። በዚሁ አኳኋን ስለኢትዮጵያ ላቫልና ሙሶሉኒ አንድ ስምምነት ፈረሙ። ፍሬ ነገሩም ጣልያን በኢትዮጵያ ላይ የሚያደርገውን ሁሉ ፈረንሳይ እንዳይቃወም ነው።

ጣልያን ኢትዮጵያን መውጋት ሲጀምርና ተዚያም በፊት ኢትዮጵያ ለሊግ ኦፍ ኔሽን የምታቀርበውን አቤቱታ ሁሉ እንዳይታይ፣ ፈረንሳይ ለጣልያን በመርዳት ሳቦታጅ ታደርግ ነበር።

በዚህ ጊዜያት የፈረንሳይ አገር የፓርላማ ኢሌክሽን ስለደረሰ የሦስት ዋና ዋና ፓርቲዎች፣ ራዲካል ሶሲያሊስት፣ ሶሲያሊስትና ኮሚኒስት (Radical Socialist, Party Socialist, Party Communist) የሚባሉት፣ ታላላቆቻቸው መሲዬ ሔሪዩ፣ ብሉምና ትራዘ የሚባሉቱ የላቫልን መንግሥት ፖለቲካ በመንቀፍ እሱን ለመገልበጥ ካምፔን ጀመሩ። በዚሁ ሁናቴ ላይ እንዳሉ በየስብሰባቸው እየተገኘሁ ላቫል ሙሶሉኒን ለማስደሰት ሲል ኢትዮጵያን በመሸጥ **የሴኩሪቲ ኮሌክቲቭን አላማ** /Secriate Collective/ ማድከሙን፣ የኢትዮጵያ አቤቱታ እንዳይታይ እያደረገ የሊግ ኦፍ ኔሽንን አላማና አቋሙንም እንዲዳከም፣ በዚህም

እኪ.ኒን እንደነሙሶሉኒና ሂትለር ያሉትን አግሬሰሮች እንዳበረታታና ያሰምም ጦርነት እንዲፋጠን ማድረጉን በዝርዝር ማስረዳቴ፣ ለፓርቲዎቹም የላቫልን መንግሥት ለመገልበጥ ደህና መሣሪያ መስጠት ለኢትዮጵያ ታላቅ ጥቅም እንደሚሰጥ ተረድቼ፣ ተፓርቲዎቹ አላፊዎች ጋር በየስብሰባቸው እየተገኘሁ ንግግር እንዳደርግ ሐሳብ አቀረብኩላቸው። እነሱም አመዛዝነው ሐሳቡ የሚረዳቸው መሆኑን ገብቷቸው፣ በስብሰባቸው የፈለኩትን ያህል እንዳስረዳ ፈቀዱልኝ። ተዚህ በኋላ በየስብሰባቸው እየተገኘሁ የኢትዮጵያን ሁኔታና የጣልያንን አግሬሽን፣ ይህም እንደዚሁ የታሰፈ ጊዜያት ማናቸውም አገር፣ ፈረንሳይም ጭምር፣ የኢትዮጵያ እድል እንዳይደርስባቸው በዝርዝር አስረዳ ነበር።

አንድ ቀን ሦስቱም ፓርቲዎች በየበኩላቸው ስብሰባና ልዩ ልዩ ዲስኩር ሲያደርጉ በየተራ እየሄድኩ በሦስቱም ሥፍራ ንግግር አድርጌ ነበር። ስብሰባውም ውስጥ የሚያስቀምጡኝ ተማሪዎች ጋር ነበር። ሲያስተዋውቁኝም፣ «ላቫል በኢትዮጵያ ላይ ያደረገውን ግፍ እንደዚሁም ኮሉክቲቭ ሴኩሪቲን እንዳጠፋ የኢትዮጵያ ሬፕሬዘንታቲቭ ያስረዳችኋል»፣ እያሉ ነበር። በማግስቱ በየጋዜጦቻቸው ላይ እንደፖስቲካቸው ዝንባሌ «እክሊሉ ሀብተወልድ፤ የኢትዮጵያ የኢንቴሌክቿአል ክፍል፣ የሠራተኞች ክፍል፣ የጦር ሠራዊት ክፍል ሬፕሬዘንታቲቭ፤ ይህን ተናገረ» እያሉ አተሙ። እነዚህም ጋዜጦች ፈረንሳይ አገር ይገኛሉ።

የኢሌክሽን ካምፔን በዚህ እኪ.ኒን ተደርጐ ተተዘጋ በኋላ የላቫል ፓርቲ ተረቶ ወደቀ። የሶሻሊስት ፓርቲ (Blum የሚመራው) አሸነፈ። የሶሻሊስት ፓርቲም ተሌሎች ፓርቲዎች ጋር ተስማምቶ ፍሮን ፓፑሌር /Front Populair/ የተባለውን ዩንየን አቋቁሞ፣ መንግሥት መሥርቶ ሥራውን ጀመረ። በዚህም ጊዜያት ኢትዮጵያ ተወራ ጃንሆይ ወደ ሎንዶን መጡ። ሲእን ብሉም፣ ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትሩን፣ ሳነጋግረው «መቼም እኛ የመጣነው ውጊያው ታለቀ በኋላ በመሆኑ አዝናለሁ። ቢሆንም መቼም ቢሆን ጣልያን በኢትዮጵያ ላይ ያላትን ይዞታ አናውቅም»፣ ብሉ አረጋገጠልኝ። በዚህ እኪ.ኒን በተሰጠውም ቃል ሌሎች መንግሥታት፣ እንግሊዝም ጭምር፣ የኢትዮጵያን መጥፋት ለጣልያን ሲያውቁላት፤. እምስቱን አመት ሙሉ ትልቁ ጦርነት እስቲነሳ፣ እኔ በፓሪስ የኢትዮጵያ ጉዳይ ፈጻሚ ሆኜ፣ ኢምባሲውም

ታወቀና [እንደማንኛውም ሉአላዊ ሀገር] ፓስፖርት እየሰጠ ማናቸውንም የኢምባሲ ሥራ ሲሰራ ቆየ። የኢትዮጵያ ስደተኞች ሁሉ ፓስፖርት ሲያስፈልጋቸው እኔ ዘንድ እየመጡ እሰጥ ነበር። የፈረንሳይ መንግሥትም ኦፊሴአል በሆነው ጥሪ ሁሉ፤ አምባሳደሮች በሚጠሩበት፤ የኢትዮጵያን ጉዳይ ፈጻሚ ይጠራ ነበር። ለምሳሌ፤ በ1938 እ.ኤ.አ. የእንግሊዝ ንጉሥና የእንግሊዝ ንግሥት በኦፊሻል ግብዣ ለጉብኝት ፓሪስ መጥተው ተሌሎች አምባሳደሮች ጋር እኔም ተጠርቼ ሄጄ ነበር። በፕሮቶኮሉ ደንብ የኢትዮጵያና የጣልያን ጉዳይ ፈጻሚ አቀማመጣቸው ጐን ለጐን ስለነበረ፤ እጠገቡ በምሆንበት ጊዜያት ጣልያኑ በጣም ሲቆጣ እኔም ኃይለ ቃል ስለተናገርኩት፤ ሁሉም ጭቅጭቁን ሰምተው፤ የፕሮቶኮሉ ሹም ሌላ የውጭ ጉዳይ ፈጻሚ /ኤጀንት/ በመካከላችን አስቀመጠ። ይህ ቀን ንጉሡን ለሰላምታ የምንጨብጥበት ጊዜ ነበር። በማታ እራት ግብዣም እንዲሁ ተደረገ። በሪሴፕሽኑ ጊዜያት ጣልያንን በመፍራት ሁሉም ሲሸሸኝ የፓርላማው ፕሬዝዳንት ሄሪዮ /President Hrriot/ (ብዙ ጊዜ ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትር የነበሩት) ከሊኦን ብሉም ጋር ወደኔ መጥተው፤ እጄን ይዘው ወደ ቡፌው ወስደው፤ ስለ ኢትዮጵያ በረጅሙ አነጋገሩኝ። በማናቸውም [ኢትዮጵያን] እንደሚረዱም አረጋገጡልኝ። ይህንን በማግስቱ ለጃንሆይ ሉንዶን ራፖር አድርጌ ስለነበረ ፕሬዝዳንት ሄሪዮን የሥላሴን ኮርዶን ሸለሟቸው። ተዚህ በኋላ እኚህ ትልቅ ሰው ከፓርቲያቸው ጋር ኢትዮጵያን ሲረዱ ቆዩ። እንደዚሁም እነ ሊኦን ብሉምና ሌሉችም።

1.2.1 ተጋዜጠኞች ጋር ያደረኩት ግንኙነትና ኢትዮጵያን የሚረዱ እንዲቋቋሙ ያደረኳቸው ኮሚቴዎች

የውጊያው አንዱ መሣርያ ፕሮፓጋንዳ ስለሆነ ጣልያኖች በጋዜጣም፤ በሲኒማም፤ ገና ፕረሜቴፍ፤ ባርያ ሻጭ፤ አውሬዎች... እያሉ በራዲዮንም በኢትዮጵያ ላይ ልዩ ልዩ ፕሮፓጋንዳ ያደርጉ ነበር በዚህም እኳኋን እኛ የምንሄደው ኢትዮጵያን ለማሰልጠን ነው /Mission Civilization/ ይሉም ነበር። ፕሮፓጋንዳ ስላበዙ ሕዝቡ ስሜቱን ለኛ፤ ስሞታውን ወደነሱ አዙሮ ነበር።

ተልዩ ልዩ ጋዜጦች ጋር ግንኙነት እያደረግሁ እውነቱን እስረዳ ነበር። ኢትዮጵያ ተብዙ ዘመን ጀምሮ የክርስቲያን አገር መሆኗን፤

በስልጣኔውም ምክንያት እስታሁን ነጻነቷን ይዛ መቆየቷን፤ ባርያም እንደሌለ በሌላም ማስረጃ አስመሰከርኩ። ብዙ ወዳጆች ስለነበሩኝ አንዳንድ ጋዜጦች ይልቁንም የሦስቱ ፓርቲ ጋዜጦች ይህንን አወጡት።

ተወዳጆቼ ጋር (ሙሴ ጃንጉል፤ በኋላ እዚህ መጥቶ በማስታወቂያ ሚኒስቴር የፈረንሳይኛ ጋዜጣ አቋቁሞ ይሠራ የነበረው) እንደዚሁም ሌሎች ፈረንሳዮች ጋር ኢትዮጵያን የሚረዱ ሁለት ኮሚቴዎች እንዲቋቋሙ አደረግሁ። እነሱም በየጊዜው በብዙ ሺ የሚቆጠር ሕዝብ እየሰበሰቡ፤ ኢትዮጵያን የሚረዳ ንግግር እያደረግን የጣልያንን ግፍ እናስረዳ ነበር።

በተለይም ጦርነቱ ተተጀመረ ወዲህ አንዳንድ አገሮች ወደ ኢትዮጵያ የቀይ መስቀል ስለላኩ፤ [እነዚህ ወዳጆቼ] የፈረንሳይ መንግሥትም የፈረንሳይ የቀይ መስቀል ዶሊጌሽን እንዲልክ ቢጠይቁ መንግሥቱ ባለመፍቀዱ፤ ህዝቡ ገንዘብ እንዲያዋጣ አድርገው አንድ የቀይ መስቀል ርዳታ ዓይነት አልጋ፤ ልብስ፤ ሐኪም አርገው፤ የዶሊጌሽኑም አለቃ መሲዩ ጃንጉል ሆኖ ኢትዮጵያ መጥተው እርዳታቸውን አበርክተዋል። ይህም በኛ የቀይ መስቀል የታወቀና ምስጋና የቀረበበትም ነው። የኢትዮጵያ የቀይ መስቀል ጸሐፊም አቶ አካለወርቅ ሀብተወልድ ነበር። ዶሊጌሽኑ ሚሽኑን ጨርሶ ሲመጣ ሙሴ ጃንጉል ራፖሩን እንዲያቀርብ ትልቅ ስብሰባ ተደረገ። በንግግሩም ጊዜያት፤ «ባርያ የሚባል በኢትዮጵያ አላየሁም፤ እንዲያውም የተረዳሁት የኢትዮጵያ ሕዝብ ተጣልያን ሕዝብ የበለጠ ነጻ መሆኑን ነው» አለ። በዚህም ጊዜ ታላቅ ጭብጨባ ተደረገ።

በነዚህ በሁለቱ ኮሚቴዎች ርዳታና መሥራችነት "ኒውስ ኦፍ ኢትዮጵያ" ወይም "ኑቬል ዲ ኢትዮጺ" የሚባል አንድ ጋዜጣ ተቋቋመ። በየጊዜው የኢትዮጵያን ፖዚሽንና የጣልያንን ግፍና አግሬሽን ያስረዳ ነበር። እኔም በየጊዜው ቢጋዜጣው እጽፍ ነበር። የዚህ ጋዜጣ አንድ በአርካይቭ አለኝ። የሁለቱ ኮሚቴዎች ስምም "Committee d' Action Ethiopiet, Assis Du People Ethiopie" ይባል ነበር።

2. በሊግ ኦፍ ኔሽን የኢትዮጵያ ዋና ጸሐፊ



አቶ አክሊሉ ሀብተወልድ በጄኔቭ የኢትዮጵያ ዴሊጌሽን ዋና ጸሐፊ ሆነው ሲሾሙ በ19ኛ ዓመት ዕድሜያቸው ላይ ነበሩ።

ይህንን የሚደረገውን ትግል በማየት ገና በልጅነቴና በትምህርት ላይ እንዳለሁ ጃንሆይ በጄኔቭ የኢትዮጵያ ዴሊጌሽን ዋና ጸሐፊ አደረጉኝ። የዴሊጌሽኑ መሪ ፊታውራሪ ተክለሃዋርያት ያን ጊዜ በፓሪስ ሚኒስትር የነበሩ ናቸው። ስለሙግትም ጄኔቭ የምንሄደው እሳቸውና እኔ ብቻ ነበርን። አማካሪ ሆነው የሚረዱን የታወቁት ፕሮፌሰር ገርዘ የኔ አስተማሪ ነበሩ። ይህንንም የሚያስረዳ መጋቢት 13/1935 እ.ኤ.አ. የተጻፈ የሱዊስ የደብዳቤ ወረቀት በአርካይቭ ይገኛል። በዚህ አኳኋን ተፊታውራሪ ተክለሃዋርያት ጋር ጄኔቭ እየሄድን ተጣልያን ጋር እንሟገት ነበር።

ፌታውራሪ ተክለሃዋርያት ተመልሰው ብላቴን ጌታ ወልደማርያም በሳቸው ፈንታ እንደተተኩ፣ በኋላ በኢትዮጵያ ኢምባሲ የፕሬስ አታሼ ሆኜ እንድሠራ ጃንሆይ ታዲሱ ውጊያ [ማይጨው] ላይ ባሉ ጊዜያት አንድ ቴሌግራም ለብላታ ወልደማርያም ላኩላቸው። እሳቸውም እምቢ ብለው [ወደ ኤምባሲው] አላስገባም አሉኝ። ቢሆንም እውጭ ሆቴል ተቀምጬ እንደ ፕሬስ አታሼ ሆኜ ስሰራ ነበር፣ ጋዜጠኞችን እየተገናኘሁ በማስረዳት፣ ኢንተርቪው በመስጠት። ለምሳሌ የላቫል-ሆየር ፓክት /Laval–Hoare Pact/ ን ሴራዎች በማጋለጥና በመሳሰሉት ስሰራ ነበር። ላቫል፣ የፈረንሳይ ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትር ላቫልና የእንግሊዝ የውጭ ጉዳይ ሚኒስትር ውለተር ሆየር ስምምነት አድርገው፣ ኢትዮጵያ የሚበልጠውን አገር (ሐረርን፣ ሲዳሞን፣ ባሌን) ለጣልያን ሰጥታ ሌላውን ያማራ የሚባለውን (ጎንደር፣ ጎጃም፣ ትግራይ ...) አስቀርታ ተጣልያን ጋር እንድትታረቅ፣ አለዚያ ሌላ መውጫም እንደሌለና [ይህንን ካልተቀበለች] ሁለቱም መንግሥቶች ምንም እርዳታ እንደማያደርጉ፣ ይህንን ፕሮፖዛል በሚስጥር አዲስ አበባ በሚገኙት አምባሳደሮቻቸው አማካይነት ለጃንሆይ እንደ የመጨረሻ ውሳኔያቸው አድርገው አቀረቡ።

ይህን አደራረግ ተግርማዊነታቸው በመልክት ስንሰማ ማዳም ታቡደስ ለምትባለው የፓርቲ ራዲካል ጋዜጣ ዳሬክተር የነበረች የታወቀች ጋዜጠኛ በሚስጥር ገለጥኩላት። እሷም ወሬውን ይዛ ያበለጠ ነፃነት ወዳለበት ሉንዶን ሄዳ በጋዜጣና በራድዮ ገለጠችው። ጋዜጣው ሁሉ (Prime l'Agression) ለአግሬሽን ሽልማት ብሎ የላቫልንና የሆየርን ስምምነት እንደትልቅ ስካንዳልና ለሶሴቴ ዲናሲዎን እና ኮለክቲቭ ሴኩሪቲን አላማን ሁሉ የሚጥል መሆኑን በረጅሙ አስረዱ። በዚሁ ጉዳይ በእንግሊዝ ፓርላማ ታላቅ ክርክር ተደርጐ ሆየርም ተጠየቀ። እሱም እያሰቀሰ፣ «እኔ በእውነቱ ይህንን ያደረኩት ተኢትዮጵያ ለማዳን የሚቻለውን ለማዳን በማሰብ ነው። አንድም መንግሥት ሄዶ ለኢትዮጵያ የሚዋጋ ስለሌለ ነው፣ በሐቀኝነት ነው የሠራሁት፣ ይቅርታ እጠይቃለሁ» አለ። በዚህ አኳኋን የዓለም መሪዎች ሃሳቡን ስለተቃወሙና ጃንሆይም የእምቢታ መልስ ስለሰጡ ሃሳቡ ፈረሰ።

ይህንን ሁሉ በማደርግበት ጊዜያት ለምግብም ለሥራዬም ትረዳኝ የነበረችው ያኔ ወዳጅ የነበረችው አሁን ሚስቴ የሆነችው ማድሟዜል ኮሌቴ ሻላድ ነበረች። እሷም ያን ጊዜ ትምህርቷን ጨርሳ አስተማሪ ነበረች። በምታገኘው ደመወዝና ተአባቷም በምታገኘው እርዳታ የተቻላትን ያህል ድጋፍ ታደርግልኝ ነበር።

2.1 ተማይጫው ውጊያ በኋላ ጃንሆይ ወደጐሬ ሄደው ውጊያውን ይቀጥላሉ የሚል ወሬ በጋዜጣ ስለመጻፉና እኔም ወደጃንሆይ ጐሬ ለመሄድ መሰናዳቴ

ይህ ወሬ በሰፊው በጋዜጣ ስለተነዛ፣ በጀኔቭ ማኅበርም በሙግት ምንም ማግኘት ስላልቻልን፣ ያለው መንገድ ውጊያውን በብዙ ዓይነት በጥብብ መቀጠል መሆኑን ስለተሰማኝ ጃንሆይ ወደሚገኙበት ጐሬ ለመሄድ ቆረጥኩ። መንገዱም በሮያል ኤርላይን እስከሱዳን ሄዶ፣ ከዚያም በአባይ በኩል በመርከብ እስኪጋምቤላ መንዝ እንደሚቻል አጠናን። አሁን በማድሟዜል ሻላድ የገንዘብ ርዳታና በባልንጀሮቼ እነመሲዬ ሉካስ፣ ደኒአ፣ ሉጋር፣ ኒፍና በሌሎችም እገዛና እርዳታ የአውሮፕላን ቲኬት ገዛሁ። መሲዬ ሉካስም ከኔ ጋር ለመሔድ ቆረጠ። ማንኛውንም ኢኩዩፕመንት ድንኳን፣ መድሐኒት የመሳሰሉት ገዝተን ልንነሳ ሁለት ቀን ሲቀረን ጃንሆይ ወደ ሎንዶን ለመሄድ ጅቡቲ ደረሱ የሚል ወሬ በጋዜጣ ወጣ። በዚህም እኳኋን ምክንያቱን ስላላወቅነው ተስፋችን ተቆርጦ በሐዘን ላይ ወደቅን።

2.2 ጃንሆይ እየሩሳሌም እንደደረሱ በቴሌፎን ግንኙነት ማድረግና መሲዬ ማርሲል ግሬኦልን መሳክ

መሲዬ ግሬኦል (Griaule) የተባለ የፈረንሳይ ትልቅ ጸሐፊና ደራሲ ነበር። ብዙ መጽሐፍ ከመጻፉም ባሻገር ወደ ኢትዮጵያ በፊት መጥቶ ልዩ ልዩ አገር ጎንደርንም ጭምር ጐብኝቶ ሔዶ ነበር። ሲመለስም ሰው ኢቃጣዮች /Flambeours d'Home/ የሚባል መጽሐፍ ጽፎ ነበር። በመጽሐፉ ውስጥም «በድሮ ጊዜ በኢትዮጵያ አንዱ ቅጣት ሰም በተነከረ

ልብስ ሰውየውን [እጥፉ የተባለውን] አልብሶ ማቃጠል ነው» በማለት ጽፏል። ጣልያኖች የእኛን አውሬነት ለማሳየት ተሌሎች ዶኪሞና (መረጃዎች) መጽሐፎች ጋር ይህንን መጽሐፍ ለጀኔቭ ጉባኤ ለምስክርነት አቅርበው ነበር። በዚህ ጊዜ እሱም ተቆጥቶ፤ «እኔ ይህንን የጻፍኩት የልብ ወለድ ሮማንስቲው እንጂ እውነተኛ ሆኖ ለምስክርነት መቅረብ የለበትም» ብሎ፤ ለጀኔቭ ጉባኤ ፕሮቴስቴሽን አቅርቦ ነበር። ተዚያም በኋላ በየጊዜው እየተገናኘን በጋዜጣ ለኢትዮጵያ ካምፔን ያደርግ ነበር። ስለዚህ ይህ የታወቀ ደራሲ ጃንሆይ ዘንድ ሄዶ የውጊያውን አኳኋንና የጣልያኖችን ግፍ ተጃንሆይ ሰምቶ ለዓለም ቢያሰማ ጠቃሚ መሆኑን በመረዳት፤ ጃንሆይ እየሩሳሌም እንደደረሱ እሱ መጥቶ ሁሉንም እንዲነግሩትና እንዲጽፍ ሐሳቡን አቀረብኩላቸው። ጃንሆይም ሃሳቡን ተቀብለው ቶሎ ላክው አሉኝ። ገንዘብ አዋጥተን በፍጥነት በአውሮፕላን እንዲሔድ አደረግን። እሱም ተጃንሆይ ጋር በመርከባቸው /የእንግሊዝ የጦር መርከብ ነበር/ ተሳፍሮ እስከጅብላርተር ተጉዞ የሚነግሩትን ሁሉ በዝርዝር ጻፈ። ሲመለስም በሰማው ነገር በጣም ኢምፕረስ ሆኖ ነበር።

ተትንሽ ቀን በኋላም *"ተግርማዊነታቸው አፍ የተቀዳ"* የሚል መጽሔት አወጣ። /በፈረንሳይኛ ታይትሉ *"Ne weilleiees de la bouche máme de S.M.L. Empereur Haile Sellassie"* ነው።

በዚህም መጽሔት ውስጥ ጣልያኖች ያደረጉትን ግፍና ሃጢአት፤ በቦምብ ድብደባ ያቃጠሉትን ቤተክርስቲያን፤ ባዶ እግራቸውን የሚዋጉትን ወታደሮች እንደምን አድርገው በሂፐርት እንደፈጁ፤ ኢትዮጵያ ምንም አውሮፕላን፤ መድፍ ወይም ሌላ ሞደርን የሆን መሳሪያ ሳይኖራት «ለማሰልጠን ነው የምንሄደው» ያሉት ጣልያኖች እንደምን የአሕዛብ ሥራ በዚህ በክርስቲያን ሕዝብ ላይ እንዳደረጉ በማለት በዝርዝር አተተ። መጽሔቱም ፐብሊክ ኦፒኒየኑን በጣም ኢምፕሬስ አደረገ። እያነበቡም የሚያለቅሱ ነበሩ። ይህ መጽሔት ከተበተነ በኋላ የአውሮፓ ሕዝብ በበለጠ ለኢትዮጵያና ጃንሆይም ወደፊት ለሚያደርጉት አቤቱታ በጀኔቭ በሲምፖዚየም ድጋፉን ሰጠ። አምስቱን አመት ሙሉ ምንም እንኳ ጣልያን ልዩ ልዩ ፕሮፓጋንዳ

በኢትዮጵያ ላይ ቢያደርግ የሚሰማው አላገኘም። አውሬው ጣልያን፣ የሰለጠነው ደግሞ የኢትዮጵያ ሕዝብ ሆኖ ተገኘ። ይህ መጽሔት አውሮፓ ይገኛል። እጃንሆይ ቢብሎቴክም ሳይገኝ አይቀርም።

2.3 የጃንሆይ ሎንዶን መድረስና የኔ ለፓሪስ ሌጋሽን /ኢምባሲ/ ዋና ጸሐፊነት በጃንሆይ መወሰኑ ሚያዝያ 1936 እ.ኤ.አ.

ጃንሆይ ሎንዶን እንደደረሱ ወዲያውኑ ሄጀ ተገናኘሁና ለማናቸውም በሳቸው ዲስፖዛል መሆኔንና ለትግሉ ባለኝ አቅም ሁሉ ለመድከም ቁርጥ ሐሳቤ መሆኑን ገለጥኩላቸው። በአውሮፓ ያለውን ሁናቴ፣ ስለኢትዮጵያ ያለውን መንፈስ፣ ያደረግነውን ሁሉ በዝርዝር ከአስረዳሁ በኋላ፣ ወደፊት በምን አኳኋን ትግላችንን መቀጠል እንዳለብን፣ ስለአቅዳችንና ስለስትራቴጃችን በአገኘሁት ኤክስፒሪያንስና በአነጋገርኳቸው ታላላቅ ሰዎች /እንደነ ፕሬዝዳንት ሄርዮ ፓርዥገ፣ መሲዩ ግሬአል .../ ምክር መሠረት ሐሳቤን በሰፊው አስረዳሁ። በዚህም ጊዜ እነ አቶ ወልደጊዮርጊስ፣ ዶክተር ሎሬንሶ፣ መሲዩ እስፒንስር የአሜሪካን አማካሪ ነበሩ።

ተዚህ በኋላ በፓሪስ ሌጋሽን በዋና ጸሐፊ አቶ ዓለሙ ቸኮል ስፍራ እኔ ዋና ጸሐፊ ሆኜ እንድሠራና፣ ሥራውን በአስረዳሁት መሠረት እንድቀጥል አዘዙኝ። የማዘዣውንም ደብዳቤ አቶ ኤፍሬም /አሁን ብላታ/ ይዞ ፓሪስ ከኔ ጋር እንዲሄድ የጃንሆይንም ትእዛዝ ለብላቴን ጌታ ወልደማርያም በቃል ጭምር እንዲያስረዳ ታዘዘ። /ይህም የሆነበት ተዚህ ቀደም የፕሬስ አታሼ ብለው ጃንሆይ ያዘዙትን ወልደማርያም ስላልተቀበሉ ነው።/



ጸሐፊ ትዕዛዝ አክሊሉ ሀብተወልድ በሥራ ገበታ ላይ።

የዋና ጸሐፊውን ሥራ ተእቶ ዓለሙ እንደተረከብኩ /አሁ እየሩሳሌም ተዛወረ/ ሥራዬን ሥጀምር ብላቴን ጌታ ወልደማርያም ታምሜአለሁ ብለው እቤታቸው ተቀመጡ፤ ቢሮም መግባት ተዉ። በዚህ አኳኋን ጃንሆይ ወደፓሪስ ሲመጡና ወደ ጀኔቭ ሲሄዱ የምቀበለው፣ አስፈላጊውንም ለጥበቃው ሁሉ ተፈረንሳይ መንግሥት ጋር እየተነጋገርኩ የማደርገው እኔው ብቻ ነበርኩ /ጃንሆይ መጽሐፍ ላይ ጃንሆይ ፓሪስ ሳሉ የተነሳው ፎቶግራፍ ይታያል/።

2.4 የብላቴን ጌታ ወልደማርያም ከድቶ ለጣልያን መግባትና የኔ ጉዳይ ፈጻሚ መሆን (1936 እ.ኤ.አ.)

ላይ እንደተባለው ሚኒስትሩ ህመም ምክንያት እያደረጉ ሥራ ስለማይገቡ እኔ እንደጉዳይ ፈጻሚ ሆኜ ሁሉንም ሥራ አስኪድ ነበር። ተፈረንሳይ ጋር ያለው ግንኙነት ፕሬስ፣ ፓስፖርት መስጠት፣ ... ነው።

በዚህ እንጊኔን ሦስት ወር ተቆየን በኋላ አንድ ቀን ማታ በ12 ሰዓት ቢሮ ሆኜ የፈረንሳይ የወሬ ወኪል ሃቫስ ደውሉ፣ ወሬውን ታውቃለህ ወይ ብሎ ጠየቀኝ። የማላውቅ መሆኔን ሲረዳ፣ በዚሁ እለት ሚኒስትራችን ጣልያን ኢምባሲ ሄደው ከሚስዮን ማድረጋቸውን (ጥገኝነት እንደጠየቁ) ገለጠልኝ። ነገሩን አላምን ብዬ ወዲያው እቤታቸው ሄድኩና ሚስታቸውንና ልጆቹን አግኝቼ ሚኒስትሩ የት እንደሄዱ ጠየኳቸው። እነሱም አናውቅም አሉ። /እነሱም እያወቁ ነበር፣ ምክንያቱም ስገባ ልጆቹ የፋሽስት ሰላምታ ሰጥተውኝ ነበር።/ እጠብቃለሁ ብዬ ተቀመጥኩ። ጋዜጣ እያነበብኩ ሁለት ሰዓት ሲሆን እሳቸው መጡ። እቤታቸው ሄጄ አላውቅም ነበርና ተገርመው ደግሞ ጋዜጣውን በማየት ተደናግጠው፣ «ወጣ እንዴ?!» አሉኝ። «ምኑ?» አልኳቸው፣ ዝም ሲሉ «ይደበቅ መስሉዎታልን? አዎን ወጥቷል፣ የእርስዎ መክዳት» አልኳቸው። «አሁን ያደረጉትን ሁሉ ምንም ሳይደብቁ ይንገሩኝ» አልኳቸው። «ምን ላድርግ? ልጆች አሉኝ፣ አዲስ አበባ ብዙ ቤት አለኝ። አንተ የተማርክ ስለሆንክ ሰርተህ ለመኖር ትችላህ፣ ምን ልሁን?» አሉኝ። እኔም፣ «ጣልያን ኢትዮጵያን ለመያዝ የመጣው የርስዎንና የሌላውንም ርስት ሊያከብር መስሉዎታልን? ደሞስ ምን ጐደሎት? ብዙ ገንዘብ ይዘው መጥተዋል። ኢትዮጵያንስ ለምን ያዋርዳሉ? አሁንም ሐሳብዎን ይለውጡ" ብዬ ተከራከርኳቸው። እሳቸውም፣ «ምንም ቢሆን አላደርገውም፣ ሦስት ሚሊዮን ሊሬ /3 Million Lire/ እስጥሃለሁ ብለውኛል» አሉ። ተዚህ በኋላ ቢሮ ሄደን ተጃንሆይ በስልክ ይነጋገሩ ብላቸው ሙሶሎኒ ይሰማኛልና እምቢ አሉ። እኔም በቁጣ፣ «ለጣልያን ገብተው ተመልሰው እኛ ኢምባሲ ነው ያሉት፣ እኛ መሬት ላይ እንዳሉ ነው፤ የፈለግነውን ልናደርግዎት እንችላለን። ይልቅስ ይምጡ!» አልኳቸው። ሚስታቸው እያለቀሱ፣ «ይህ ልጅ የተማረ ነውና የሚለውን ይስሙት፣ ቢሄዱ ይሻለዋል» ብለዋቸው፣ ወደ ቢሮ ሄድን።

በዚህ ጊዜ ጃንሆይ ጀኔቭ ነበሩ። ኢትዮጵያ አለች? የለችም? ተብሎ ታላቅ ክርክር ተደርጐ ለጊዜው አለች ተብሎ ለኛ ተፈርዶልን ነበር። ጃንሆይን በስልክ አግኝቼ ጉዳዩን ተገለጥኩላቸው በኋላ እሳቸውን እንዲቀርባቸው አዘዙኝ። ተቀረበም በኋላ ጃንሆይ፣ «አሁን ያቀረብንህ

ደስታችንን ልንገልጥልህ ነው። ኢትዮጵያ እለች ተብሎ ተፈረደልን» አሏቸው። እሳቸውም ዝም ሲሉ ጃንሆይ፣ «እዚያስ ምን ወሬ አለ?» አሏቸው። «እኔ ለጣልያን ገባሁ» አሏቸው። «ምነው?! ምን ጉደለህና ነው? እባ ለመግባት ተቆረጥህ ታሪካችንን ሳታበላሽ ሥራህን ተተውህ በኋላ አታደርገውም ነበርን?» አሏቸው። «አይ እኔ እርጌዋለሁ፣ በዚህም ቆርጫለሁ» አሉ። «ያደረግንልህን ሁሉ እረሳኸውን?» አሏቸው፤ ስልኩን ትተው ሄዱ። እኔም ስልኩን አነሳሁት፤ ሦስት ቀን ጃንሆይ ቢታገሱ ለመመለስ ልሞክር ብዬ ሃሳብ አቀረብኩላቸው። «ሃሳቡ ደህና ነው ግን የሚመለስ አይመስለኝም» ብለውኝ ተለያየን።

ተቢሮ ወደ ውጭ ብቅ ስል ጋዜጠኞች ተሰብስበው ጥያቄ አደረጉልኝ። ጥያቄውም፣ «ጃንሆይ ጀኔቭ ሸክትሪ ሲያገኙ ጣልያን ደግሞ እዚህ ሌላ ድል አገኘ። ይሄውም ሚኒስትሩ፣ ዋና ጸሐፊውም፣ በሙሉ ሌሎቹ የኢምባሲው ባልደረባዎች ለጣልያን ስለገቡ ነው» የሚል ነበር። ማነው እኔና ሌሎች ሠራተኞች መግባታችንን የነገራችሁ ብላቸው፣ «እሳቸው ብላቴን ጌታ ወልደማርያም ለጣልያን ያስታወቁት በራሳቸው፣ በዋናው ጸሐፊና በሌሎች ሠራተኞች ስም ነው» ብለው፣ አረጋገጡልኝ። እኔም በፍጹም ውሸት መሆኑን ሳረጋግጥላቸው የደስታ ስሜት ይታይባቸው ነበር። ይህ መሆኑን ታወቅሁ በኋላ እነሱ ቃሌን እንዲቀዱና በራዲዮን ማታውኑ እንዲያስታውቁ፣ በማግስቱም በጋዜጣ እንዲያወጡት አንድ መግለጫ ሰጠኋቸው። ይሄውም ባጭሩ፣ «የኢትዮጵያ ሚኒስትር ብላቴን ጌታ ወልደማርያም ዛሬ እጣልያን ኤምባሲ ሄደው በክዳት ገብተዋል እየተባለ ይወራል። ይህ ወሬ እውነት እንደሆን፣ ስህተት እንዳይኖር ቀጥሎ ያለውን ለማስታወቅ እወዳለሁ። የኢትዮጵያ ሌጋሽን ዋና ጸሐፊ የሆንኩት እኔ አክሊሉ ሀብተወልድ፣ ሌሎቹም ሠራተኞች በሙሉ ለኢትዮጵያና ለጃንሆይ ታማኝ ሆነን ተጣልያን ጋር ያለንን ትግል እንቀጥላለን። ሚኒስትሩም ገብተው እንደሁ በራሳቸው ስም ብቻ እንጂ በሊጋሽኑ ስም አይደለም። ተዚህ በቀርም እሳቸው የሚንታል በሽታ ታመው ሥራ ትተዉ፣ ቢሮም ታልገቡ ብዙ ወራቸው ነው፤ አውቀው ያደረጉት አይመስለኝም» የሚል ነበር። ይህ ዲክሌሬሽን ወዲያው በመላው ዓለም በራድዮን ተሰማ።

በማግስቱም ጋዜጦች የብላቴን ጌታ ወልደማርያምን ለጣልያን መግባት ሲገልጡ፣ ቀጥሎም የኔን መግለጫ በሚገባ አወጡት።

በዚህም አኳኋን እሳቸው የሜንታል በሽታ ታመው ለብዙ ወራት ሥራ አለመግባታቸውን ስገልጽ፣ በሌላ በኩል ዋናው ጸሐፊውና ሌሎችም ሠራተኞች ለጣልያን አለመግባታቸው ሲታወቅ፣ የወልደማርያም ለጣልያን ከድቶ መግባት ጣልያኖች የጠበቁትን ኢፌክት ሳይሰጥ ቀረ። /እኔን፣ እራሴን ለጣልያን እንድገባ በብዙ መንገድ ፈትነውኝ ነበር። አንድ ጊዜም ወደእኛ ታልገባህ ወንድምህን አካለወርቅን እና እናትህን እንገላቸዋለን ቢሉኝ፣ እኔ ታገሬ ስወጣ በልጅነቴ ነው፣ አላስታውሳቸውም፤ ብትፈልጉ ግደሏቸው አልኳቸው።/ ለጋዜጣ የሰጠሁትን መግለጫ በአጋጣሚ አርካይቭ ውስጥ አግኝቸዋለሁ። ቢጋዜጣው የወጣውም በጊዜው የወጡት ጋዜጦች ኮሌክሽን ውስጥ ይገኛል።

2.5 ወልደማርያም ያደረጉትን እንዲክዱ ለማድረግ ያደረኩት ጥረት

ጃንሆይ በቴሌፎን ሳነጋግራቸው እኔ ጉዳይ ፈጻሚ ሆኜ እንድሠራ ለፈረንሳይ መንግሥት ማስተዋወቁ ዘግይቶ፤ ሁለትና ሦስት ቀን ተሰጥቶኝ አሳባቸውን ሳስለውጥ ብዬ ሃሳብ አቅርቤላቸው፤ እሳቸውም ሃሳቡን ተቀብለውት እንደነበረ ላይ ተገልጿል። በዚሁ መሠረት ተወልደማርያም ጋር ንግግር አደረግሁ። «ጣልያን ኢምባሲ ሄደው ሦስት ሚሊዮን ሊሬ እንስጥዎታለን ያሉትን ይጠይቁ፤ ሁለተኛ ቤትዎን አዲስ አበባ ያለውን እንዲመልስልዎት ለግራዚያኒ ወረቀት እንዲሰጥዎት ይጠይቁ» አልኳቸው። እሳቸውም እሽ ብለው ሄዱ። ሲመለሱ «የሚቀበለኝ አጥቼ ታስጠበቀኝ በኋላ 3ኛው ጸሐፊ ነው የተቀበለኝ» አሉ። እሱም «ገንዘብ የሚባል የለም፤ ርስዎ ጌታ ነዎት፤ ስለቤትዎም እዚያ ተሄዱ በኋላ ይታያል» አለኝ፣ ብለው ነገሩኝ። እኔም «ይኸውሎት ያልኩት ሁሉ እውነት ነው። አሁንም ለታሪክዎም፣ ለልጆችዎም ሲሉ 'እኔ ታምሜ ነው የከረምኩት፣ የሠራሁትንም

አላውቅም፤ ለኢትዮጵያ ታማኝ መሆኔን አሁንም አረጋግጣለሁ' ብለው ያስታውቁ። መታመምዎንም ተሀኪም ምስክር ወረቀት ለማግኘት ተነጋግሬአለሁ» አልኳቸው። ተብዙ ክርክር በኋላ ሃሳቡን ተቀበሉ። ሀኪሙን ተወዳጆቼ አገኘሁ፤ ሰርተፊኬቱም ተሰናዳ። ጃንሆይ ነግሬአቸው በሥራው ተደሰቱ።

ሁሉም ተተሰናዳ በኋላ የጃንሆይ ልዩ ጸሐፊ የነበሩት ተሱንዶን ወደ አዲስ አበባ ሲመለሱ በፓሪስ በኩል አለፉ። የወልደማርያም ወዳጅ ስለነበሩ፤ «ተንግዲህ ወዲህ ጃንሆይ የሚመለሱና ኢትዮጵያም የምትድን መስሎሀልን? አብደሐል?! የአክሊሉን ሃሳብ አትቀበል፤ እኔም መግባቱ ነው፤ አንተም ግባ» ብለው፤ ሃሳባቸውን አስለወጧቸው። ይህንንም ለጃንሆይ አስታወቅሁ። ይህንን እላይ የተዘረዘረውን ሁሉ ጃንሆይ ደህና አድርገው ያስታውሱታል።

2.6 የኔ ጉዳይ ፈጻሚ መሆንና በአምስቱ ዓመት ተጃንሆይ ጋር ያደረኩት ትግል

የወልደማርያም መክዳትና ሃሳቡን ላለመለወጥ መቁረጡን ጃንሆይ ካወቁ በኋላ እኔ ጉዳይ ፈጻሚ ሆኘ እንድሠራ መሾሜን፤ የወልደማርያምንም መሻር የሚያስታውቅኦፊሴል ደብዳቤ ለፈረንሳይ መንግሥት ላኩ። የፈረንሳይ መንግሥትም ደብዳቤውን ተተቀበለና እኔም እንደጉዳይ ፈጻሚ በኦፊሴል አክረዲት ተሆንኩ በኋላ ሥራዬን ጀመርኩ፤ የደብዳቤው ኮፒ አርሺቭ ይገኛል። በአምስቱ ዓመት ጊዜ ተጃንሆይ ጋር ተስልፌ ለኢትዮጵያ ስታገል የፈጸምኩት ሥራ ብዙ መልክ ያለው ነው።

2.6.1 በገንዘብ ችግር ምክንያት የፓሪስ ሌጋሲዮን /ኤምባሲ/ እንዳይዘጋ ያደረኩትና የሰጠውም ጥቅም

የሉንዶን ኤምባሲያችን እንደተዘጋና ሀኪም ወርቅነህም ወደ ህንድ እንደሔዱ፤ የፓሪሱም እንዲዘጋ ሐሳብ ቀርቦ ነበር። ይህን ሃሳብ በብርቱ ተቃውሜና ተከራክሬ ጃንሆይም ሃሳቤን ተቀበሉኝ። ይህንንም ያደረኩበት፦

ሀ/ የሴኩሪቲ ኮሌክቲቭ ዓላማና እንደዚሁም የሶሲዩቴ ዲናስዩን መሠረት ስለተናጋ፣ ማንም ኃይለኛ መንግሥት ትንሹን ቢያጠቃ ምንም እንደማይደረግ በማወቁ፣ ሂትለር በዚሁ ሁናቴ በመጠቀም ሌሎች ጐረቤት የሆኑትን አገሮች እንደነቸኮዝሎቫኪያ፣ ኦስትሪያ ያሉትን በኃይል ለመያዝ ስለሚሞክርና በዚህም አኳኋን ጦርነት እንደሚነሳ በማመን፣

ለ/ እስከዛሬም ድረስ ሌጋሲዮናችንን ሳንዘጋ እንቅስቃሴያችንን ከቀጠልን እንደድሮ ለመኖር፣ ነጻነታችንን ለማግኘት ያለንን ቁርጥ ሃሳብ ማሳየት ይሆናል፣

ሐ/ ትልቁ ጦርነት ሲነሳ ጣልያን ተሂትለር ጋር መሰለፉ ስለማይቀር እኛም እነሱን ተሚወጉት ጋር ተሰልፈን ትግላችንን ቀጥለን አብረን የማሸነፍ እድል አግኝተን አገራችንን ነጻ ለማውጣት እንድንችል፣

መ/ ኢምባሲያችንን ዘግተን ዝም ብለን የተቀመጥን ጊዜያት የሚበልጡት ያለም መንግሥታት የጣልያንን ይዞታ ስላወቁ ተረስተን እንደምንቀር ስላወቅሁ ነበር።

በዚህም አኳኋን ኢምባሲው እንዲቆይ ሲፈቀድ በገንዘብ ችግር ምክንያት የኢምባሲውን ሥፍራ ሁለት ጊዜ መለወጥ ግድ ሆነብኝ፤ ተ"Rue Columbertare Alfred" ተዚያም "Rue Tourmeput"። የመጨረሻው ቦታ ሁለት ክፍል ብቻ ነበረው፤ አንድ ቢሮና አንድ መኝታ ቤት። ቢሆንም የኢትዮጵያ ባንዲራ ቢሮው ላይ ይውለበለብ ነበር።

በኦፊሴል ለኢትዮጵያኖች ፓስፖርት መስጠት የምችል እኔ ብቻ ነበርኩ። ምክንያቱም በህግ የታወቀው ኢምባሲ ፓሪስ ያለው ብቻ ስለሆነ። በዚህም አኳኋን ለብዙ ኢትዮጵያኖች ፓስፖርት እሰጥ ነበር።

ተየሩሳሌም ሆነ ወይም ተሱዳን፣ ተሌላም ቦታ የሚመጡት ኢትዮጵያኖች የምቀበልና በቪዛና በሌላም በኩል ከፈረንሳይ ባለስልጣኖች ጋር እየተነጋገርኩ አስፈላጊውን እርዳታ ለማድረግ ችዬ ነበር። ለምሳሌ፣ ግርማዊት እቴጌ ተየሩሳሌም ወደ ሎንዶን ሲሄዱ በፈረንሳይ መርከብ እስከ ማርሴይ /የፈረንሳይ ፖርት/ ሄደ የኦፊሴል አቀባበል

እንዳደርግላቸውና በደህና በባቡር ተጉዘው፣ ፓሪስ ደርሰው ተዚያም ሎንዶን እንዲደርሱ አድርጊያለሁ። /የተሳፈሩበት መርከብ ወደጣልያን አገር የሚሄድ ሆኖ ይህንንም ሳያውቁት፣ መርከቡ ወደ እልጂ እንዲመለስ አድርጌ በሌላ መርከብ ማርሴይ እንዲገቡ አድርጌአለሁ። አለዚያ ጣልያን እጅ ይገቡ ነበር።/ እነራስ ካሣ፣ ራስ ብሩ፣ ቢትወደድ መኩንን፣ እነጀነራል ከበደ ሲመጡ እየተቀበልኩ አስፈላጊውን አድርጌአለሁ። በተለይም የኢትዮጵያ ቄሶች መድኃኒዓለምን ይዘው ተየሩሳሌም ሲመጡ ተቀብዬ፣ ሆቴል አሳድሬ፣ በማግሥቱ ወደ ሎንዶን እንዲደርሱ አድርጌአለሁ።

ልዩ ልዩ ግብዣ እያደረግሁ ታላላቅ ሰዎችንና የጋዜጣ ክፍሎችን እየጠራሁ የኢትዮጵያን ኮዝ ኬዝ አስረዳ ነበር። በተለይም የጃንሆይ ወጥ ቤቶች ተየሩሳሌም ሲመጡ ተቀብዬ እንድልካቸው ስለታዘዝኩ፣ ፓሪስ ለሁለት ቀን ስለሚቆዩ በነሱ በመጠቀም ትልቅ ግብዣ አድርጌ /የኢትዮጵያ ምግብ/ ስላሳ የሚሆኑ የፖለቲካና የጋዜጣ ሰዎች ጋበዝሁ። በማግሥቱም «የአንድ አገር ስልጣኔ በምግቡ ረቂቅነት ይታወቃል» ብለው በጋዜጣ አተቱ /La civilization d'un pays se re'commait a le rafinement de la consine/። ለዚሁም ግብዣ እነ እቶ ወልደጊዮርጊስ፣ ሎሬንሶና እቶ መኩንን ሀብተወልድ ተሎንዶን መጥተው ነበር።

በልዩ ልዩ ጉዳይ ለጃንሆይ ሃሳቤንና አድቫይዜን /በህግ/ እያቀረብኩ እረዳ ነበር። ለምሳሌ፣ በአንዱ የጄኔቭ ስብሰባ ጃንሆይ መልክተኛ የላኩ ጊዜያት መልክተኞቹን በቬሪፊኬሽን ኦፍ ፓወር ፕሮስጀር እናስወጣቸዋለን ብለው ጣልያኖች እስይመው ነበር። ይህንን እንደሰማሁ ለጃንሆይ «ራስዎ ይሂዱ፣ መልክተኛ እንዳይልኩ። ራስዎ የሄዱ እንደሆን እርስዎ ሄድ ስቴት ስለሆኑ ቬሪፊኬሽን ኦፍ ፓወር አይደረግም።» አላቸውም ሀሳቡን ተቀበሉ። የስዊስ መንግሥት ይህንን ጠርጥሮ፣ በጣልያንም ተገፋፍቶ አምባሳደሩ እኔ ዘንድ መጥቶ «በሚመጣው የጄነቭ ስብሰባ ጃንሆይ የመጡ ጊዜያት ስዊስ እንዲገቡ እንፈቅድላቸውም። ምክንያቱም የስዊስ መንግሥት ኢትዮጵያ የጣልያን ኮሎኒ መሆኗን ስላወቀ ነው» አለኝ። በዚህ እኳኋን አንድ ኖት ሰጠኝ። እኔም «ጃንሆይ

ስዊስ አይደለም የሚሄዱት፣ ለሶሴቲ ዲናስዎን እንጂ። እናንተ የማታውቁት አገር አገራችሁ እንዳይገባ የፈለጋችሁ ጊዜ ማ በሩ ሌላ አገር እንዲዛወር አድርጉ» ብዬ መለስኩለት። በዚህም አኳኋን ጃንሆይ እንዲሄዱ መከራ እሳቸውም ቆርጠው ሄዱ። የስዊስ መንግሥትም ምንም ሳያደርግ ቀርቶ ጃንሆይም ጉባዔ ላይ ተቀምጠው ለኢትዮጵያ ክርክራቸውን አቀረቡ።

እንደዚሁም ጣልያኖች በኢትዮጵያ በማናቸውም ክፍለ ግዛት ያለውን በሙሉ አገሩን ይዘነዋል ብለው ስለተማጉቱ፣ ጉሬ ላይ እነደጃዝማች ወልደጻድቅ ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትር ሆነው ገዥርናንስ መኖሩን የሚያስረዳ ልዩ ልዩ ዶኩሜንትና ተዚያም ለጋዜጦች ሁሉ የሚላክ /በፖስጣ/በመቶዎች የሚቆጠሩ ዶክመንት ይዘው ለነቢትወደድ ጌታቸው፣ ብላታ ኤፍሬም ደረጀ፣ የብላቴን ጌታ ህሩይ ልጅ ተፓሪስ እንዲላፉሩ አድርጌ ነበር። ካይሮ ሲደርሱ ቢትወደድ ጌታቸው ለጣልያን ገቡ፤ ዶክሜንቱና ወረቀቱ ግን በብላታ ኤፍሬም እጅ ስለነበረ ጣልያኖች ሳይዙት ቀሩ።

እላይ እንደጠቀስኩት የኮለክቲቭ ሴኩሪቲ ዓላማ ስለተደመሰሰ ሂትለር በራሱ ሃሳቡን ፈጸመ። መጀመሪያ ራናኒን (Rhineland)፣ ቀጥሎ ኦስትሪያን፣ ቀጥሎም ቼኮዝሎቫኪን ያዘ። በዚህ ጊዜያት ሁሉ ምንም እነኚህ አገሮች የፈረንሳይ አላይ ቢሆኑም ፈረንሳይም፣ እንግሊዝም አልተንቃነቁም። በመጨረሻም /1940 እ.ኤ.አ./ ሂትለር ዳንዚግንና ፖሎኝን (ፖላንድ) ያዘ። በዚህ ጊዜያት እንግሊዝና ፈረንሳይ በጀርመን ላይ ጦርነት አስታወቁ።

ጣልያን ወደ ጦርነቱ መግባቷን /ተጀርመን ጋር ተሰልፋ/ የማይቀር መሆኑን በመግለጽ በጊዜው ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትር ከነበረው መሲዩ ፖል ሬና ቀጠሮ ጠይቄ አግኝቼው፣ «ጣልያን ጦርነት መግባቷ ስለማይቀር፣ አሁኑኑ እሷ ስትገባ ሥራ ላይ የሚውል የአልያንስ ውል ኢትዮጵያ፣ ፈረንሳይና እንግሊዝ እንዋዋል» አልኩት። እሱም ሳቅ ብሎ፣ «ይህ ያንተ ምኞትና ሕልም ነው። ጣልያን ምንም ጊዜ ቢሆን ጦርነት አትገባም» አለኝ። እኔም «መግባቷ የማያጠራጥር ነው፤ የስጣችኋትን ሁሉ አልበቃኝም ብላ እምቢ ያለች ለምንድነው?» አልኩት። «ምን አለ፣

ጣልያን እንደ ምኞትህ የገባች እንደሁ መጥተህ እንገናኝና ያኔውኑ እናደርጋለን፤ ግን ጉዳዩን በሚስጥር ጠብቅ» አለኝ። እስተዚያም ድረስ ሌሎችን የውጭ አገር ሰዎች ሁሉ ወይ ታገር እንዲወጡ ወይም ለፈረንሳይ እንዲዋጉ ትእዛዝ ስለተሰጠ እዚህ አገር ያሉትን ኢትዮጵያኖች /ብላታ ኤፍሬም፤ ብላታ ዘውዴ፤ አቶ መኮንን፤ አቶ መለስ አርአያ ሥላሴ፤ ሥዩም ብርሃኔና ሌሎችም/ ለወደፊት ያገለግላሉና እንዳይነኩ ብዬ ትእዛዝ ይሰጥ ብዬ ጠየቅሁ። እሱም፤ «አንድም ኢትዮጵያዊ እንዳይነካ በሚስጢር ትእዛዝ እሰጣለሁ» ብሉ፤ አረጋገጠልኝ። ትእዛዙም በምስጢር ለኮሚሣሪያዎቹ ሁሉ ተሰጥቶ ኢትዮጵያኖች እስከ መጨረሻው አልተነኩም።

በያሉበት ያሉትን የኢትዮጵያ ስደተኞች የሚረዳ የኢትዮጵያ ስደተኞች የዓለም ማ በር የሚባል /Association International en Refuqis Ethiopias/ ተአቶ መኮንን ጋር አቋቁመን ነበር። ይህ ማ በር ገንዘብ እየሰበሰበ በብዙ ሺህ የሚቆጠር ፍራንክና ፓውንድ በያሉበት አከፋፍሏል። ይህም ማንም ሰው ያወቀው ታላቅ ርዳታ አድርጓል። /ፋይሉን ማየት ይቻላል።/

3. የጣልያን ጦር መግባት

የሂትለር ጦር ፓሪስን ለመያዝ ትንሽ ቀን ሲቀረውና ሂትለር በማሸነፍ ላይ ሳለ ጣልያን ተጀርመን ጋር ተሰልፋ ጦርነቱ ውስጥ ገባች። ፖል ሬናን ወዳያውኑ ቀጠሮ ጠይቁ ቀንና ሰዓት ቀረጠልኝ። በቀጠሮ ቀን ስሄድ ሴሲቱን የፈረንሳይ መንግሥት ፓሪስን ለቆ ወደ ቦርዶ መሄዱን ነገሩኝ። ይህም ፓሪስ ሊያዝ አንድ ቀን ሲቀረው ነበር።

ወዲያውኑ ስመለስ ሰቱም፣ ባንኩም፣ ጋራጁም፣ ሁሉም ተዘግቶ እንዳንዱ ወደ ቦርዶ ተዛውሯል የሚል አየሁ። ተቦምብ ለማዳን በባንክ ኡፍር ያስቀመጥኩትንም አንዳንድ የአርሽብ ወረቀት ለመፈለግ ብሄድ እሱም ተዘግቶ አገኘሁ። ፓሪስን ጀርመኖች እንዲሁም ጣልያኖች ሳይዙት ተሦስት ባልንጀሮቼ /መኩብብ፣ ሥዩምና ሉቃስ/ ጋር በቢስክሌት ተፓሪስ ወጥተን ወደ ቦርዶ ተጓዝን። ቢስክሌቱን ለመግዛት የቻልኩት በማድሚዜል ኮሌቴ እርዳታ ነው። አሥር ሚሊዮን የሚሆን ሕዝብ በመሸሽ መንገድ ላይ ስለሚገኝ ተነመኩብብ ጋር ተጠፋፍተን ቦርዶ አብረን ለመድረስ የቻልነው እኔና ሉቃስ ብቻ ነበርን። በመንገድም ብዙ ውጣውረድ ደርሶብን፣ እንዲያውም የፈረንሳይ ወታደሮች ሴሲት እኛ መብራት በማብራታችን እንድንገደል አዘው፣ ሳይገድሉን ጀርመኖች ስለደረሱ ዳንን።

ወደ ቦርዶም የሄድኩት እንግሊዞችን የሚያሳፍር አንድ መርከብ ስላለ በዚያ ተሳፍሬ ወደ ጃንሆይ ለመሄድ ነበር። ግን እኛ ጧት ስንደርስ መርከቡ ማታ ሄዶ ተገኘ። በመጨረሻው መርከብ አንድ የፈረንሳይ መንግሥት ዲፕሎማት ሚሄድ መሆኑን ስሰማ ወደ እንግሊዝ አገር እንድሔድ የይለፍ ወረቀትና ማንኛውንም እርዳታ እንዲያደርግ ብጠይቀው፣ «እኛ አሁን ተሸንፈናል፣ ምንም ማድረግ አንችልም። ደግሞ በአደረግነው የአርሚስትስ ውል መሠረት የጣልያንና የጀርመን ጠላት የሆነ አገር ዜጋ ፈረንሳይን ለቆ እንዳይሔድ ውል ገብተናል። ከዚህ መሔድ አትችልም» አለኝ። «ለጣልያን አሳልፋችሁ

ልትሰጡኝ ነውን?» ይህ ተዓለም ህግጋት ውጭ መሆኑን ገልጬ ፕሮቴስት አደረግሁ።

የፈረንሳይ አዲስ መንግሥት ከፒተ ወደ ቪሽ እንደሔደ እኔም በድንኳን ውስጥ ቆይቼ ወደዚያው ተከትዬ ሄድኩ። እዚያም ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትር የነበረው ላቫል ስለነበረ እንደገና ተፈረንሳይ ለመውጣት ጥያቄ አቀረብኩ። እሱ የነሢትለር ሰው ስለነበረ፤ እንዲያውም አሁን ፈረንሳይ ኢትዮጵያን ስለማታውቅ ፓስፖርትህ መወሰድ አለበት ብሎ ፓስፖርቴን ነጥቆ፤ ማርሴይ ሬዚዶንሴ ፊክሴ (ቋሚ ነዋሪ) አርጉ ተዚያ እንዳልንቃነቅ አዘዘ።

ቢሆንም እኔ ሌላ ፓስፖርት አዘጋጅቼ በድብቅ ቪሽ እየመጣሁ፤ ተውጭ አገር አምባሳደሮች ጋር ንግግር እያደረግሁ፤ ተፈረንሳይ አገር ለመውጣት አደክም ነበር። ዘዴው ኢትዮጵያ ሳይሆን ሌላ አገር ለመሰደድ ተብሎ ቪዛ አግኝቶ መውጣትና በኋላ ጃንሆይ ወዳሉበት ለመሄድ ነበር። በዚህ አኳኋን የአሜሪካንንና የሜክሲካን ቪዛ አግኝቼ ነበር። ግን በፓስፖርቴ ተፈረንሳይ መውጣት አልተቻለም።

ተብዙ ችግር በኋላ ማርሴይ ያለው የኮሎምቢያ ቆንሲል ሁናቴዬ አሳዝኖት የኮሎምቢያ ፓስፖርት ሰጠኝ። ይህም ዜግነቴ ኮሎምቢያዊ ሆኖ ስሜም ቶማስ ወልድ ተብሎ ነው። ይህ ፓስፖርት እንዲጋጣሚ እቤት ይገኛል።

በዚህ ፓስፖርት ተማርሴይ አገረ ገዢ ጋር በሚስጥር ተነጋግሬ በብዙ ውጣውረድ ፈረንሳይን ለቅቄ ለመውጣት ቻልኩ። መሄጃዬም በስፔንና በፖርቹጋል ነበር። ፖርቹጋል ያንጊዜ ኒውትራል የእንግሊዝም ወዳጅ ስለሆነ እዚያ ተደረስኩ በኋላ ማንኛውንም ርዳታ አገኘሁ። ከፈረንሳይ ከመነሳቴ በፊት ፖርቹጋል ስደርስ የራሴን ፓስፖርት እንዳገኝ ማርሴይ ለነበረው ለአሜሪካን አምባሳደር ያን ጊዜ ኢሚራል ሌይ የሚባል /በኋላም ስቴት ሸፍ እፍ እታች የሆነ/ ፓስፖርቴን ሊዝቦን ኤምባሲያቸው እንዲልክልኝ ሰጥቸው እሱም እሺ ብሎ ወስዶ ነበር። ሊዝቦን ስደርስ ወዲያውኑ ኤምባሲ ሄጄ ፓስፖርቴን አገኘሁ።

እንግሊዝ ኤምባሲ ሄጀ ወደ ኢትዮጵያ ለመሄድ እርዳታ እንዲያደርግልኝ፣ ተዚህም በቀር ፈረንሳይ አገር የቀሩትን ኢትዮጵያኖች /መክበብ፣ አቶ መኰንን/ ለማውጣት መሥራት ስላለብኝ እርዳታውን ሁሉ እንዲያደርግልኝ ጠየቅሁ። እሱም ያንጊዜ ጃንሆይ አዲስ አበባ ገብተው ስለነበረ ቴሌግራም አድርጕ ለመርዳት ፈቃደኛ መሆኑን ገለጠልኝ። መርከብ ስለማይገኝ በማንኛውም ፕራዮሪቲ ተሰጥቶኝ መሳፈር እንድችል ተእንግሊዝ አገር ተአቶ አማኑኤል ጋር /ያን ጊዜ የጃንሆይ ወኪል/ ተጻጽፌ ፕራዮሪቲ ወረቀት ሰጡኝ።

ፈረንሳይ ከቀሩት ኢትዮጵያኖች ጋር እየተጻጻፍኩ እነሱም ለመውጣት የሚችሉበትን ተየኢምባሲዎቹ ጋር ተነጋግሬ ለመውጣት እንዲችሉ ታደረግሁ በኋላ፣ መርከቡ እንደተገኘ ተሁለት ወር በኋላ በአፍሪካ ዞሬ ወደ ሞምባሳ ለመድረስ ቻልኩ። ተኔ ጋር ያለው መሲዬ ሉቃስ ብቻ ነበር። አዲስ አበባ የደረስኩት በ1941 /እ.ኤ.አ./ መጨረሻ ነው።

ተጃንሆይም ተተነጋገርኩና ሁሉንም የደረሰውን በሙሉ ራፖር ታደረኩላቸው በኋላ፣ በጽሕፈት ሚኒስቴር አንድ ቢሮ ሰጥተውኝ በህግ አማካሪነት ልዩ ልዩ ትእዛዝ እየሰጡኝ እሠራ ነበር። ይህም ቢሮ የተሰጠኝ ሁለትና ሦስት ወር ሥራ ፈትቼ ተቀምጬ ተዚያም በኋላ አንድ ራፖር ማሰናጃ መክፈት ስለሚገባንና ስለ አቋማችን ለጃንሆይ ራፖር ታደረግሁ በኋላ ነው።

3.1 ምክትል የጽሕፈት ሚኒስትር

የጽሕፈት ምክትል ሚኒስትር በነበርኩበት ጊዜያት ብዙም ሥራ ባይኖር አንዳንድ ጉዳይ ፈጽሜአለሁ።

ሀ/ የጃንሆይ የሕግ አማካሪ እንደመሆኔ፣ ለየመሪዎቹ የሚሄደውን መልክትና የሚደረገውን ዲስኩር ማዘጋጀት፣

ለ/ የመጀመሪያውን የሚኒስትሮች ሥልጣንና ተግባር፣ በነጋሪት ጋዜጣ የወጣውን፣ ተመስዬ ማቲው ጋር እኔ ነኝ የሠራሁት፣

ሐ/ የኢትዮጵያ ብሔራዊ ገንዘብ እንዲሁም ባንክ እንዲቋቋም ሲደረግ የእንግሊዞችን ሃሳብ በክርክር አሸንፌ ባንኩም እዚህ አገር ዋና ቢሮው እንዲሆን፣ የቦርድ አባሎችም ኢትዮጵያኖች እንዲሆኑ አድርጌአለሁ። ዝርዝሩ ብዙ ነው፤ ዶክመንቱ ሁሉ በአርካይቭ ይገኛል። ፍሬ ነገሩ ግን ያንጊዜ የምንሠራበት ገንዘብ ኢስት አፍሪካን ሽልንግ ነበር፤ የኢትዮጵያ ገንዘብ ገና አልወጣም። የ1944 /እ.ኤ.አ./ ውል እንግሊዞች በኛ ላይ የፕሮቴክሽን ነክ መብት ይሰጣቸው ነበር። /ያለነሱ ፈቃድ አማካሪ አለመቅጠር፣ የኢትዮጵያ ባንክ ሥፍራው እንግሊዝ አገር ሆኖ የቦርዱም አባሎች በእንግሊዝ ንጉሥና በጃንሆይ ስምምነት እንዲሾሙ፣ መሰብሰቢያውም ሎንደን እንዲሆን፣ በዚህ አኳኋን ወርቃችንን ሎንዶን አስቀምጠን እነሱ ወረቀት እያተሙ እንዲሰጡን። አንድ ቀን ብንጣላም ሁሉንም ሊክለክሉን ይችላሉ ማለት ነው።/ ያንጊዜ ኢትዮጵያ የነበሩት የእንግሊዝ አማካሪዎች በላንግፎርድ መሪነት፣ አንድ አሥራ ሁለት ይሆኑ ነበር። እሱና ሌሎች አማካሪዎች ሃሳባችንን ታልተቀበላችሁ ኢስት አፍሪካ ሽልንግም እንሰጥም ብለው መግባቢያም ጠፍቶ፤ ታላቅ ክራይሲስ ደርሶ ነበር። አማካሪዎችና እኛ ተሰብስበን ተነጋግረን ሃሳብ ለጃንሆይ እንድናቀርብ ሃሳብ አቀረብኩ። ሃሳቡን ተቀበሉት። በቢትወደድ መኰንን ሰብሳቢነት ተኔ ጋር ጸሐፊ ትእዛዝ ወልደጊዮርጊስና አቶ መኰንን ደስታ ነበሩ። ተብዙ ክርክር በኋላ ባንኩም አዲስ አበባ እንዲሆን፣ የቦርዱም አባሎች በጃንሆይ እንዲሾሙ ተስማምተን የተባበረ ሃሳብ አቀረብን። በዚህ አኳኋን አሁን ያለን የኢትዮጵያ ዶላርና ብሔራዊ ባንክ ተቋቋመ። /ፕሮሲቨርባሉን ማየት ይጠቅማል።/

መ/ «ኢትዮጵያ አዲስ ኢትዮጵያ ናት፤ የድሮዋ ጠፍታ ስለነበረ የድሮው አዋጅ ሁሉ እንደገና መታወጅ አለበት» ብለው እንግሊዞች ጠይቀው ነበር። በዚህ ጊዜ በሚኒስትሮች ምክር ቤት «ኢትዮጵያ መቼም አልጠፋች፣ ጦርነቱን እንደቀጠልን ነበር። እስታሁንም አርሚስትስም፣ የሰላምም ውል ተጣልያን ጋር አልፈረምንም፤

ስለዚህ የዱሮው አዋጅ ሁሉ የረጋ ነው» በማለት ስለተከራከርኩና ሃሳብ ስላቀረብኩ ተእንግሊዞች ጋር እንድከራከር ታዘዝሁ። ተእንግሊዞች ጋርም ብዙ ክርክር ስናደርግ ቆይተን ማሸነፊያ ያገኘሁት በ1944 ውል ጃንሆይ ሲፈርሙ በሕገ-መንግሥቱ በተሰጠኝ ሥልጣን መሠረት /1930 እ.ኤ.አ. የወጣው የመጀመሪያው ሕገ-መንግሥት/ ስለሚል የዱሮው ሕግ ሁሉ ተረጋ ይህም ሕገ-መንግሥት አይረጋም ማለት ነው። በዚህም እኒኒን የ1944 ዓ.ም. ውል አይረጋም ስላቸው የዚህም ተከታይ ውጤት ስለገባቸው፣ እውነትህ ነው ብለው ሃሳቤን ተቀብለው ኢትዮጵያ አዲስ አለመሆኗን ስምምነታችንን ፈርመን ለጃንሆይ አቀረብን። በነሱ አስተያየት አዲስ ኢትዮጵያ የሆነች ጊዜ ጠረፉን፣ ሌላውን ሁሉ ለመለወጥ ነበር። /ፕሮሲቨርቫሉን ማየት።/

4. ምክትል የውጭ ጉዳይ ሚኒስትር በኋላ ሚኒስትር 1936—1942

የውጭ ጉዳይ ምክትል ሚኒስትር ሆኜ በምሠራበት ጊዜያት ሚኒስትር ስለሌለ በሕጉ መሠረት የሚኒስትሩን ሥልጣን ይዤ ስሠራ ነበር። በኋላም የሚኒስትሩ ታይትል ተሰጠኝ። ስለዚህ ምክትል የውጭ ጉዳይ ሚኒስትርም ሆን ወይም ሚኒስትር ሁኔታውን አይለውጠውም።

ምክትል የውጭ ጉዳይ ሚኒስትር ወይም ሚኒስትር በነበርኩበት ጊዜያት የፈጸምኩትን ታላላቅ ጉዳዮች በአጭሩ ከዚህ ቀጥሎ ይዘረዘራል። /አንድ ነገር ማስታወስ የሚገባኝ ደግሞ የተማረና ዲግሪ ያለው — በውጭ ትምህርት — ኢትዮጵያኖች በጣም ትንሽ ነበሩ፤ ተአምስትና ተስድስት አይበልጡም ነበር። እውጭ ጉዳይ ስገባ አንድም ዲግሪ ያለው የለም ነበር። አሁን ያሉት ሚኒስትር የሆኑት /ተመሣክላቸው/ ኤርትራ ተተመለሰች በኋላ ነው እ.ኤ.አ. በ1952። ስለዚህ ተዓለም መንግሥታት ጋር ስሟገት ብቻዬን ነበርኩ። ብዙ ጊዜም ያለጸሐፊ እንኳን ብቻዬን ዓለምን ስዞር ነበር። ይህን ሁኔታ ያንጊዜ የነበሩት ሁሉ ያስታውሱታል።



በጠቅላይ ሚኒስትር ቢሮ፤ ብላታ ኤፍሬም ተወልደመድህን፣ አቶ አክሊሉ፣ ጠሚ ቢትወደድ መኮንን እንዳልካቸው፣ ዶ/ር አምባ ወልደማርያም፣ አቶ አማኑኤል አብርሀም፣ አቶ ምናሴ ለማ፣ አቶ ጴጥሮስ ሳህሉ።

መጀመሪያ ሥራዬ ኢትዮጵያ ያለችበትን ሁናቴ ቅኝት ማድረግና ወደፊትም ማድረግ የሚገባትን ማጥናትና ፕሮግራም ማውጣት ነበር።

ሀ/ ጦርነት ላይ ነን፤ ምንም ጣልያን ተሸንፋ ተኢትዮጵያ ብትወጣ፤ የአርሚስትስም ሆነ የሰላም ውል ተጣልያን ጋር ስላልፈረምን በሕግ በኩል ጦርነት ላይ እንዳለን ነው። ተዚህ በቀር ሌሎቹ መንግሥቶች ተጀርመን፤ ጣልያንና ጃፓን ጋር ጦርነት ነበሩ።

ለ/ ኢትዮጵያን እንደ ጣልያን ግዛት ሆና ያውቋት አገሮች፤ ተተዋጊዎቹ ውስጥ እንደ እንግሊዝ ያለ፣ ኢትዮጵያን በተዋጊዎቹ ሰላዮች ተጠላት የተያዘች አገር ዓይነት ይቆጥሩዋት ነበር /Enemy Territory occupied by ally/። እ.ኤ.አ. በ1942 እንግሊዞች ያስፈረሙን ውል ይህንን ይመስላል። ኦጋዴንን ይዘዋል፤ ባቡሩን ይዘዋል፤ የኢትዮጵያን አርሚ በሞትም ይዘዋል። ያለእንግሊዝ አማካሪ የለንም፤ ሌላ ለመቅጠር የነሱ ፈቃድ ያስፈልጋል፤ እንድም አውሮፕላን ያለነሱ ፈቃድ ወደ ኢትዮጵያ አይገባም።

ሐ/ መጀመሪያ ይህንን ውል መስወጥ ተግባራችን ነበር። ይህንን የመጀመሪያ ሥራዬ እንዲሆን አቀድሁ፤ ኦጋዴንን፣ ባቡሩን ለመመለስ ጭምር።

መ/ ጦርነቱ ሲያልቅ፣ ለሰላም ጉባዔ አባል ለመሆንና ጥያቄያችንን ሁሉ ለማቅረብ ታሁኑ በብርቱ መሥራት፤

ሠ/ ወደፊት በጀኔቭ ማ በር ፋንታ ለሚቋቋመው አዲስ የዓለም ማ በር ተካፋይና መሥራች ለመሆን አሁኑኑ መሥራትና መሰናዳት፤

ረ/ አፋምቦን፤ ፈረንሣዮች የወሰዱብንን፤ ለመመለስ መሥራት፤

ሰ/ ጋምቤላን ለመመለስ መሥራት፤

ሸ/ ተጐረቤት አገሮች ጋር ያለንን ጠረፍ ዲሊሚት ለማድረግ መድከም። ምክንያቱም በሱማሊያና በኢትዮጵያ መካከል ዲሊሚቴሽን ስለሌለ ነው ወልወል የኛ ነው ብለው ጣልያኖች ጦርነት ያነሱት። የኢትዮጵያ ጠረፍ ተእንግሊዝ ሱማሌ በቀር ማናቸውም ዲሊሚት አልሆነም፤ ተኬንያ፣ ሱዳን፤ ጅቡቲ፣ የጣልያን ሱማሌ ጋር ዲሊሚቴሽን የለም። በዚህም ምክንያት

ኢንስዳና ግጭት ሊኖር ይችላል። /አንድ ሰው የቦታውን አጥር ደህና አድርጐ መሥራት እንዳለበት ሁሉ።/

ቀ/ በውስጥ በኩል የኢኮኖሚክና የሶሻል ሪድሬሲንግ ማድረግ አስፈላጊ እንደነበረ፤ በትምህርትም በኩል ብዙ መሥራት እንዳለብን፤ ሕገ መንግሥታችንንና ሌሎቹን ሕጐች በጣም ማሻሻል እንዳለብን። ይህንን ሁሉ ታላደረግን ኢትዮጵያ በዓለም ተገቢ ሥፍራዋን እንዳታገኝ ተረድቸው ነበር።

4.1 የጥር 31/1942 እ.ኤ.አ. ተእንግሊዞች ጋር የተደረገው የጦር ስምምነት በ ዳር 19/1944 ስምምነት እንዲተካ ያደረኩት አኳኋን

አላይ እንደተመለከተው ይህ ውል እንግሊዞች እንደተያዝን የሆን ዓይነት መልክ ይሰጣል። በውሉ መሠረት

- የእንግሊዝ ወታደሮች በየትም ሥፍራ ሊያዙ ይችላሉ፤
- በኢትዮጵያ ማንኛውም ሥፍራ ለመያዝ መብት ተሰጧቸዋል፤
- ማንኛውም አውሮፕላን ያለ እንግሊዞች ፈቃድ ኢትዮጵያ አይገባም፤
- አማካሪዎቹ ሁሉ እንግሊዞች ናቸው፤ ያለነሱ ፈቃድ ሌላ ማንንም መቅጠር አንችልም፤
- እንግሊዞች ወይም ሌላ የውጭ አገር ሰው የእንግሊዝ ዳኛ የሌለበት ሊፈረድበት አይቻልም፤
- የኦጋዴን ሪዘርቭድ ኤርያ በነሱ እንደተያዘ ነው፤
- ባቡሩም በነሱ እጅ ነው፤
- የእንግሊዝ አምባሳደር ሌሎች አምባሳደሮች ላይ ፕሬዮሪቲ አለው፤
- የእንግሊዝ የጦር አዛዥ በሌሎች ሚሊቴሮች ላይ ፕሬዮሪት አለው፤ እንደዚሁም ሌላ ሌላ ...

ውሉን ለመለወጥ በእንግሊዞች የተሰጠ ናታ /ሚሞራንደም ወይም ደብዳቤ/ ለጃንሆይ አቅርቤ ሃሳቡን ተተስማመበት በኋላ ለእንግሊዞች ውሉን ለመለወጥ ኔጎሲየሽን ለማድረግ መፈለጋችንን

ስነግራቸው የሚደነግጡ መሆኑን ስለታወቀኝ፣ እኔ በውሉ መሠረት የሦስት ወር ፕሪየር ዋርኒንግ የሚሆን ኖታ ጻፍኩላቸው። በውሉ መሠረት እስከ ሦስት ወር ንግግር ካልጀመርን ውሉ እንዲፈርስና ማናቸውንም የያዙት ሁሉ እንደምንይዝ በጥብቅ አስታወቅሁ። ኬንያ ያላቸውን ጦር አሰርት አደረጉ። ተብዙ ክርክር በኋላ ንግግር ለማድረግ መልክተኛ መላካቸውን አስታወቁ።

ተእንግሊዞች ጋር ለተደረገው ኔጎሳሲዮን፣ በሎርድ ደላዋር የሚመራ 15 የሚሆኑ የእንግሊዝ መልክተኞች አዲስ አበባ ደረሱ። የኛ ደሌጌሽን የሚመራው በቢትወደድ መኰንን ሆኖ ተኔ ጋር እነ ጀኔራል ዐብይ፣ አቶ ወልደጊዮርጊስ፣ አቶ ይልማ፣ አቶ መኰንን ደስታ ነበሩ። ንግግሩ የሚካሄደው በሎርድ ደላዋርና በኔ መካከል ነበር። የሁለቱ መንግሥት ፓር ተ ፓርል ሆነን /ፕሮሲቬርባሉን ማየት።

ማናቸውም እንቀጽ፣ የኢትዮጵያን ነጻነት የሚነካ፣ ብዙ ችግር ሳይኖር ለመለወጥ ተስማማን፤ ሦስት ጉዳይ ላይ ብቻ ችግርና ኮንፍሊክት ደረሰ። እነኝህም፣

ሀ. የኦጋዴን

ሎርድ ደላዋር ኦጋዴን ለኢትዮጵያ አይመለስም፤ ምክንያቱም ተአሜሪካኖች፣ መስኮብ፣ ፈረንሳይ ጋር እንግሊዝ ስምምነት አድርጋለች ሲል ተሟገተ። ስምምነቱም «ጦርነቱ ሲያልቅ ኦጋዴንና የጣልያን፣ የእንግሊዝ፣ የፈረንሳይን ሱማሌ አንድ ጋ ቀላቅለን በእንግሊዝ ውስጥ በኮሚኒ ወልዝ ለማስተዳደር ነው» አለ። እኔም «ኢትዮጵያ መጀመሪያዋ የፋሽስት ቪክትም ሆናና መጀመሪያ በድል ነጻ የወጣችውን፣ እናንተ የኛ አላይ /ቃል ኪዳን/ የሆናችሁት ኢትዮጵያን ለመከፋፈል አስባችሁን እንደሁ መቼም አንቀበልም። ለዚህም ጥብቅ ፕሮቴስት አደርጋለሁ» ብዬ፣ ወጣሁ። ወዲያውኑ ደህና ሆኖ የተሰናዳ ስምንት ገጽ የሚሆን የፕሮቴስታስዩን ደብዳቤ አሰናድቼ ማታውኑ ላኩለት። ኮፒም ለመስኮብ መንግሥት እንዲሁም ለአሜሪካንና ለፈረንሳይ መንግሥት አድርጌ እኔው እራሴ ወስጄ ማታውኑ አስረከብኩ፣ ለአምባሳደሮቹ። ይህም ሲደርሰው ሎርድ ደላዋር እንደ እብድ ሆነ። ይኸውም ለአሜሪካን፣

መስኮብ፣ ፈረንሳይ ጉዳዩ ስለተገለጠበት ነው። ለኛንሆ ይም ይህ ወረቀት ዊዝድሮው ታልሆነ ወደ አገሩ መመለሱን አስታወቀ። ጉባኤውም ለሦስት ቀን ተቋርጦ አብድ፣ ክሬዚ ሆነ። እኔም ወረቀቱን መልሼ አልወስድም ብዬ ጠነከርኩ። ብዙ ችግርም ሆነ። በውስጣችን ወረቀቱ ተመልሶ ይወሰድ የሚል ነበር። ይህን ተማድረግ እኔም ሥራውን መተው አስብኝ አልኩ። በዚህም የጠነከርኩበት ወደፊት ኡጋዴንን ወደእኛ ለመመለስ፣ የነሱን ግሬተር ሱማሌ ሃሳብ ለማጥፋት፣ እንዲሁም እንግሊዞችን በሌሎች መንግሥታት ፊት ማጋለጥ አስፈላጊ ሆኖ ስላየሁት ነው። ሦስት ቀን ከፈጀ ተብዙ ንግግር በኋላ እኔም ወረቀቱን ዊዝድረው ሳላደርግ ጉባዔው ተከፈተ፣ ኔጉሳሲዩን ቀጠለ፣ ዝርዝሩ ብዙ ስለሆነ ፕሮሲቬርባሉን ማየት ያስፈልጋል።

በመጨረሻም እንግሊዞችና ሌሎቹም አገሮች አሜሪካን ጭምር እኛም የነሱ አላይ እንደመሆናችን፣ ተጣልያን ጋር ገና የሰላም ውል ስላልፈረምንና በጦርነት ላይ ስለሆንን፣ ለጦሩ እንዲረዳ ጦርነቱ እስቲያልቅ ድረስ የኢትዮጵያ የገዥነት መብት እንደተጠበቀ ኡጋዴን በእንግሊዝ የጦር አስተዳደር ውስጥ እንድትቆይ በሚል ፎርማሊቲ ላይ ስምምነት ተደረገ። /As ally for the prosecution of the war, without prejudice of her sovereignty and until the end of the war, Ethiopia accepts to put Ogaden under the British military administration. ውሉን ማየት።/ ያንጊዜ ተማንም መንግሥት ጋር ግንኙነትም፣ በኤምባሲ ሬሌሽን የለንም። በእንግሊዞች እጅ ብቻ ነበርን።

ለ. የባቡሩ ጉዳይ

ጦርነት ላይ ስላለን፣ እናንተም ባቡሩን ለማስኬድ ችሎታና ሰው ስለሌላችሁ፣ ለማስኬድ ችሎታ እስኪኖራችሁ ድረስ እንለቅም አሉ። እኛም ሰውም ቀጥረን ቢሆን እናስኬዳለን ብለን ተከራከርን። ባቡሩን በሚገባ ለማስኬድ ችሎታ ሲኖራችሁ፣ ይህም ሲረጋገጥ፣ ያኔ እንለቃለን አሉ። ባቡሩ ለጦሩ ይረዳል በማለት፣ አላይ እንደተባለው ምንም የተማረ ሰው ስለሌለ፣ ፈረንሳይም ተሸንፋ አገሩም በጀርመን እጅ ስለነበረ ተኋም

ጋር ለመሥራት ስለማይቻል፣ ሰው እስትናገኝ እነሱ እጅ እንዲቆይ ተስማማን።

ሐ. በዓመት የሚሰጠን 12 ሚሊዮን ፓውንድ

እስታሁን ያለነው፣ በነሱ ገንዘብ እርዳታ ባመት 12 ሚሊዮን ፓውንድ ተጫ እየሰጡን ነበር። ገና በመቋቋም ላይ ነበርን፤ የልማትና የታክስም ጉዳይ ገና መጀመሩ ነበር። የኢትዮጵያ ገንዘብ መውጣት እላይ በተዘረዘረው መሠረት ላይ ነበር። የሚበልጠው የሚገበያየው በኢስት አፍሪካን ሽልንግ ነበር። «ገንዘቡን የምንሰጠው የምታወጡትንና የምትሠሩትን ሁሉ አንድ ኮሚቴ አቋቁመን እየተቆጣጠርን ነው፤ ያለዚያ አንሰጥም» አሉን። እኔም «ይህማ ፕሮቴክቴሽን ማለት ነው። ነጻ መንግሥት ሆነን ይህን አንቀበልም፤ ገንዘቡ ይቅርብን» ብዬ መልሼ የገንዘቡ ፋይት በዚሁ ቀረ። እንዳቅማችን ነጻነታችንን ይዘን ብንኖር ይሻላል ብዬ በዚህ ጃንሆይ በሙሉ ተስማሙበት።

4.4.1 የስምምነቱን ኢፌክት ለማስፈጸም የተደረገው ትግል

ሀ. የባቡሩ ጉዳይ

ባቡሩን ለማስኬድ የውጭ ቴክኒሲያን መቅጠር አስፈላጊ ስለሆነ ዋይት ኮርፖሬሽን /White Corporation/ የሚባል የአሜሪካን ካምፓኒ፣ ድሮ ዓባይን ለማጥናት ጀምሮ ከነበረ ጋር ተስማማን። በወር ስድስት ሺህ ዶላር እየከፈልን፤ እሱም አዲስ አበባ መጥቶ ቢሮውን ከፈተ። ግን ወዲያውኑ ፈረንሳዮች በአሜሪካን ላይ ፕሬዥር ስላደረጉ አሜሪካኖች እምቢ ብለው ቢሮአቸውን አነሱ። የአሜሪካን መንግሥት ይህን ያስታወቀኝ በ1944 ሳንፍራንሲስኮ ለዩናይትድ ኔሽን ቻርተር ለማስናዳት ስሄድ ነው። በነንተ ምክንያት ተፈረንሳይ ጋር መጣላት አንፈልግም ብለው ቁርጥ እምቢታቸውን አስታወቁ። ተሴላም መንግሥት ጋር ሁሉ ጦርነት ላይ ስለሆን ግንኙነታችንም ኢምባሲ ሪሌሽን የለንም። በዚህም ምክንያት ተየትም እርዳታ ልናገኝ አልቻልንም።

በዚህም እኳኋን ባቡሩም የሚበልጠው 80 እጅ የፈረንሳይ ንብረት ስለሆነ ተነሱ ጋር ንግግር ማድረግ ግድ ሆነብን።

በባቡሩ ተውሉ ውጭ የጣልያን ወታደር ወደ ኢትዮጵያ እስገብቷችኋል በማለት ተአጼ ምኒልክ ጋር የተዋዋላችሁት ውል አደፈጋምና ሌላ ውል እንዋዋል፤ እስዚያ ባቡሩን አትረከቡም በማለት አንድ የውል ስምምነት አቀረብኩላቸው። እነሱም ወታደርም አላመጣን፤ ውሉንም አንሰውጥም ብለው ግትር አርገው ያዙ። እንደዚሁ በክርክር ቆይተን በ1946 ሉንዶን የሄድኩ ጊዜ መሲዩ ዜይ፤ የፈረንሳይ የውጭ ጉዳይ ሚኒስትር፤ እንድንገናኝ ጠይቀውኝ ያቀረብኩውን የፕሮቶኮል ውል እንቀበላለን አሉኝ። በዚህም አኳኋን አዲስ አበባ ስመለስ ውሉን ተአምባሳደሩ ጋር ፈረምን። ባቡሩንም ተእንግሊዞች ተረክበን ማስኬድ ጀመርን። ተትንሽ ዓመታት በኋላም አሁን ያለውን ውል ለመስማማት ቻልን። ይኸውም ባለቤትነቱ በግማሽ የኢትዮጵያ፤ በግማሽ የፈረንሳይ፤ የሥራ አስኪያጆቹና የቦርድ አባሎቹ እንዲሁ በግማሽ ኢትዮጵያና ፈረንሳይ፤ የባቡሩ ሄድኳርተር ፓሪስ መሆኑ ቀርቶ አዲስ አበባ እንዲሆን፤ የምናወጣውን ሕግ ሁሉ እንዲቀበል ሆኖ ነው።

ለ. የኡጋዴንና የሬዘርቭድ ኤርያ አመላለስ

ይህንን አገር ለመመለስ ረጅምና አስቸጋሪ ትግል ተደርጓል /በሙሉ ፕሮሲቨርባሉም ማየት ይጠቅማል።/ በ1946 እ.ኤ.አ. ሉንዶን ሄጄ ተሚስተር ቤቪን ጋር /የእንግሊዝ የውጭ ጉዳይ ሚኒስትር/ ስለዚሁ ጉዳይ ንግግር ስናደርግ፤ «ኡጋዴንን እንለቅም፤ ምክንያቱም አስተዳድራችሁት አታውቁም፤ ይህን ቤት የሚሞላ የፍሮንቲየር ኢንሲደንት ያደረጋችሁት» አሉኝ። «ተሌሎች አገሮች ጋር ተነጋግረን የእንግሊዝ ሱማሌን፤ የጣልያንን ሱማሌ፤ አሁን በእንግሊዝ እጅ ያለውን እንዲሁም ኡጋዴንን 'ትልቋ ሱማሌ' ብለን እኛ ጋ ቀላቅለን ለማስተዳደር ሃሳብ አለን። ይህንንም ተትንሽ ወር በኋላ ለሚከፈተው ለሰላም ጉባኤ ልናቀርብ ነው» አሉኝ። እኔም፤ «ተጣልያን ጋር የተዋጋነው በኡጋዴን ነው። ይህን ሃሳብ ለማስፈጸም እንግሊዝ ኢትዮጵያን እንደ ጣልያን መውጋት አለባት። ሳንዋጋና ሳንሸነፍ ልትወስዱት አትችሉም» ብዬ፤ ተቆጥቼ ወጣሁ /ተኔ ጋር አቶ ተፈራ ወርቅና ጸሐፊ ትእዛዝ ነበሩ/። ወደዚያም ሄጄ ለምስችፍ ማስታወሻና ካርታ ጨምሬ ቤቪን

ያሰቡትን ሁሉ አስረዳሁት። እንግሊዞች ተኢትዮጵያ 1/3ኛ የሚሆን አገር ሊነጥቁን አቅደዋል አልኩት። እሱም አገሩ ሲገባ ፕሬስ ኮንፈረንስ አርጐ፣ «ይኸው እነኚህ ኮሎኒያሊስቶች የኢትዮጵያን ሩብ መሬት ሊነጥቁት ነው። እኛ ግን እንቃወማለን» ብሎ፣ አስታወቀ። ያንጊዜ እንግሊዞችና አሜሪካኖች፣ መስኩብ ቱርክንና ኢራንን አታክ አርጐ አገር ይወስዳል በማለት ይሰጉ ነበርና፣ ይህንን ሰበብ አርጐ አሳቡን እንዳይፈጽም በእንግሊዝ አገር ታላቅ ስሜት ደረሰ። በሐውስ ኦፍ ኮመንስ ስብሰባ ተደረገ። ቢቭ ተጠየቀ፣ በአጥፊነት። እሱም፣ «እነኚህ ሕዝቦች አሳዝነውኝ ነው፣ ግን ማንኛውንም ኢትዮጵያ ሳትስማማ ለማድረግ አላሰብኩም ነበር» ብሎ መለሰ።

ኢትዮጵያ አለመስማማቷ የታወቀ ስለሆነ ተብዙ ጭቅጭቅ በኋላ ኡጋዴንን፣ ተሬዘርቭድ ኤርያ በቀር፣ በ1948 እንግሊዞች ለኢትዮጵያ መለሱ። ሲመልሱም በኡጋዴናች ሽብር ሁሉ እንዲነሳ አቅደው ነበር። የጸጥታ አላፊውን ኮሎኔል ክፍሌ እና ሌሎችንም ልከን በጥንቃቄ ለመረከብ ቻልን።

ሪዘርቭድ ኤርያ /የግጦሹ ሥፍራ/ «እሱን መቼም ቢሆን አንመልስም፣ የእንግሊዝ ሱማሌ ከብት መጋጫ ነው። ይህ ወደ ኢትዮጵያ ተተመለሰ መቼም ሰላም አይገኝ» እያሉ እምቢ አሉን። እኛም «ብዙ ዓመታት ሙሉ በሰላም ኖረናል፣ የምትበጠብጡት እናንተ ናችሁ። በአጼ ምኒልክ ውል መሠረት እንደዚሁም በ1944 ስምምነት መሠረት አገሩን መልሱ» እያልን ተከራክርን፣ አንድ ትልቅ ደሊጌሽን አዲስ አበባ ልከው፣ "የቸርችል ካቢኔ በዚህ ቆርጦአል፣ መቸም ቢሆን አንመልስ» አሉ። እኔም ጉባዔውን ጥዬ ወጣሁ። ተተመለስኩ በኋላ በአምባሳደራችን አበበ ረታ በኩል ሪዘርብድ ኤርያን ለመመለስ ንግግር ታላደረግን ጉዳዩን ለሴኩሪቲ ካውንስል ማቅረቤን አስታወቅሁ። በኋላም በግድ ኔጎሳሲዮን ከፈቱ። በየምክንያቱ ሲጐተት ቆየ /ፕሮሲቨርባል/። በመጨረሻም ንግግሩን ሎንዶን ጃንሆይ ሲሄዱ /የመጀመሪያ ጊዜ/ እዚያ እንቀጥል አሉ። እኔም፣ «የእናንተ እንግዳ ሆነን እዚያ መነጋገር አልፈልግም» አልኩ። «እምቢ ታልክ ለብዙ ወራት ይቆያል» ብለው፣ አስታወቁ። ጉዳዩ ተሥፍራው እያልፍም ብዬ ተቀበልኩ። ጃንሆይ

በመርከብ ሲሄዱ እኔ እዚህ ንግግሩን ስቀጥል ቆይቼ በኋላ በአውሮፕላን አንድ ቀን ቀድሜ ደረስኩ። እዚያም ጃንሆይ ጉብኙቱን ሲያከናውኑ፣ ሚስተር ኤደንና እኔ ንግግሩን ቀጠልን፤ በመጨረሻም ስምምነት ደረስን። ይኸውም ባንድ ወር ውስጥ አገሩን ሲያስረክቡ ነበር። አዲስ አበባ ስንመለስ ተኤደን አንድ ቴሌግራም ለጃንሆይ ተላከ። የሚለውም፣ «አገሩ የተመለሰ ጊዜ ሕዝቡ ስለሚነሳ፣ ስምምነቱ ሥራ ላይ መዋሉ እንዲቆይ» የሚል ነበር። እኛም በውሉ መፈጸም አሰበት ብለን እምቢ አልን። ለሚደርሰው ኮንስኮንስ ኢትዮጵያ ኃላፊ መሆንዋን አስታውቀው በተባለው ጊዜ አስረከቡ። እኛም ብዙ ጥንቃቄ ወስደን ነበር። ወዲያውኑ በነሱ አነሳሽነትና ስለእኛ ፋንታ ታንድ ግሩፕ ወደ ዩናይትድ ኔሽን ቴሌግራም አስደረጉ። ተሕዝቡም ውስጥ መርጠው የገዟቸውን ወደ ጉባዔው ላኩ። ላቤቱታ እኔም ሄድኩ። ተሌሎቹ መንግሥታትና ተዋና ጸሐፊውም ጋር በመነጋገር ጉዳዩ የውስጣችን እንደመሆኑ መጠን ነገሩ በአጀንዳና በሌላም አኳኋን እንዳይነሳ ለማድረግ ቻልኩ።

4.2 የዩናይትድ ኔሽንን ቻርተር ለማሰናዳትና ድርጅቱን ለማቋቋም እንዲሁም ለመፈረም ያደረግነው

በጀኔቭ ማ በር ፋንታ ሌላ ማ በር መቋቋሙ እንደተሰማ እንደድሮው በልመና ተመግባት መሥራች አባል ለመሆን አሁኑኑ መድከም እንዳለብን ተረድቼው ነበር።

በ1944 /እ.ኤ.አ./ ፕሬዚዳንት ሩዝቬልት ለጃንሆይ አውሮፕላን ልከው፣ በሚስጥር ከመርከብ ላይ /ፖርት ሰይድ/ ጃንሆይና ሩዝቬልት ተገናኝተው ረጅም ንግግር ተደርጐ ነበር፤ እኔም አብሬ ሄጄ ነበር። ሌሎችም ራስ ካሣ፣ አቶ ይልማ ደሬሳ፣ ጀነራል መርድ [ረዳት] ነበሩ። በዚያን ጊዜም ወደፊት ለሚቋቋመው ማ በር መስራችና አባል እንድንሆን ጠይቀን ነበር። እሱም ቃሉን ሰጥቶን ነበር። እንደዚሁም በኤርትራ ላይ ያለንን ሬቨንድኪሺንና ተጣልያን የምንጠይቀውን ሁሉ በሚዘረዝር ማስታወሻ አቅርበን ነበር።

ተሩዝቬልት ጋር መገናኘታችን ሲሰማ ቸርችልም ተጃንሆይ ለመገናኘት መፈለጉን ጽፎ በሩዝቬልት እጅ ወረቀት ልኮልን ነበር።

/ተያልታ ጉባዔ ሲመስሱ ነው።/ ጃንሆይም ተቀብለው መነጋገሩን ፈቀዱ፤ በንግግሩም ጊዜ ሚስተር ኤደን ነበር። ለሩዝቬልት እንደሰጠነው አይነት በኤርትራ ላይ ያለንን ጥያቄና ተጣልያን የምንጠይቀውን የጦር ካሣ ለእነሱም ሰጠን፤ ሚስተር ኤደን ሃሳቡን ሁሉ ተቃወሙ። «ጣልያኖች ብዙ መንገድና ሌላም ሠርተውላችዋል፤ ይህ እንደ ካሣ ይቆጠራል፤ ምንም መጠየቅ አይገባችሁም» አሉን። ሁሉንም በማፈዝ እኳኋን ነበር የሚቀበሉው፤ ስምምነት ሳናደርግ ተለያየን።

የሳንፍራንሲስኮ ጉባዔ እንደተቃረበ እንደሌሎቹ ነፃ መንግሥቶችና አላይ የሆኑት ጥሪ ተደረገልን /በአሜሪካን ድጋፍ ነው ለማለት ይቻላል/። ተአፍሪካ ሦስት መንግሥቶች ብቻ ነበሩ /ኢትዮጵያ፤ ሊቤሪያና ግብጽ።/ ተእስያ ማንም የለም፤ ሕንድም ገና ነፃ አልወጣችም ነበር። የስብሰባው ተካፋዮች በጠቅላላው ወደ 52 መንግሥታት ነበሩ።

የኛ ዴሊጌሽን የሚመራው በቢትወደድ መኰንን ነበር። እኔ ምክትል ሄድ ኦፍ ደሊጌሽን ነበርኩ። ሌሎቹ ብላታ ኤፍሬም፤ አቶ አማኑኤል፤ አቶ አምባዬ፤ አቶ ምናሴና አቶ ጴጥሮስ ነበርን። ቢትወደድ መኰንን የቋንቋም፤ ሌላም ችግር ስላገኛቸው ወዲያው ተመለሱ። እኔም ሄድ ኦፍ ዲሊጌሽን ሆኜ ሥራው ተጀመረ /ግንቦት 1944/።

በሥራውም ጊዜ የኢትዮጵያ ደሊጌሽን ብዙ አመንድመንት እያቀረበ ለጉባዔው ኮንትሪቢውሽን አድርጓል። /ፕሮሲቨርባል ማየት፤ የዩናይትድ ኔሽን ዶክመንት።/ እኔም ተጣልያን ጋር ባለን ኤክስፒሪያንስ እየጠቀስኩ ብዙ ኢንተርቬንሺን አደርግ ነበር። አንዱ በምሳሌ ያስቀበልነው፤ «አንድ መንግሥት አንድ ሌላ ሀይል ሲያጠቃኝ ይሰናዳል ብሎ አቤት ባለ ጊዜያት ሴኩውሪቲ ካውንስል መሰብሰብ አለበት» ብዬ አቅርቤ ነበር። አሜሪካኖች ይህን ሃሳብ በሆን ባልሆነው እውነቱ ሳይረጋገጥ መሰብሰብ የለበትም ብለው በብርቱ ተቃውመው ነበር። እኔም «ሰባት ወር ሙሉ ጣልያን ሊወጋን ነው እያልን ጀኔቭ አቤቱታችንን የሚሰማው ጠፍቶ፤ ጣልያን ጦሩን መድፉንና ታንኩን በሬድሲ ለማጋዝ ጊዜ ተሰጥቶት፤ በኋላ ሰላሳ ኪሎ ሜትር ኢትዮጵያ ውስጥ ከገባ በኋላ ነው አቤቱታችንን ለማየት የተቀበሉት። በክርክሩም ጊዜ ጣልያን እኛን ለመውረር ቻለ» እያልኩ አስረዳሁ። ብዙ መንግሥቶች ይልቁንም ፈረንሳዮች በዚህ

ኢምፕሬስ ሆነው አመንድማውን ተቀበሉት፡፡ በዚህ ምክንያት ነው አሁን ማንም መንግሥት አቤት ሲል በየጊዜው ሲኩውሪቲ ካውንስል የሚሰበሰበው፡፡ ታንድ ወር በኋላ ሥራው አለቀና በቻርተሩ ላይ የሃምሳ ሁለት ሄድ ኦፍ ዴሊጌሽን ዲክሌራሲዩን እያደረጉ በየተራ ፈረሙ፡፡ እኔም በተራዬ በኢትዮጵያ ስም በፊርማዬን ዲክላራሲዮን አደረግሁ፡፡ ስፈርም የተነሳው ፎቶግራፍና ዲክላራሲዩን አርካይቭ ይገኛል፡፡

ተሳንፍራንሲስኮ ስመለስ ዋሽንግተን ሄጄ ከአሜሪካን መንግሥት ጋር ልዩ ልዩ ንግግር አደረግሁ /የተቀመጥኩትም ብሌር ሃውስ ነበር/፡፡ ተኔ ጋር አቶ ምናሴ ነበሩ፡፡ በዚያም ጊዜ ዋና የፈጸምኩት የኢትዮጵያን ኤይርላይንስን ማቋቋም ጉዳይ ነው፡፡ ዝርዝሩ ብዙ ነው /ፕሮሲቨርባል ማየት ያስፈልጋል/፡፡ ባጭሩ ያንጊዜ ፓይለትም፣ አውሮፕላንም ስለሌለን አሜሪካኖችና እኛ በማ በር አንድ ኤርላይንስ እናቋቁም ብዬ ጠይቄ ነበር፡፡ እነሱ ይህን አንድም ኢትዮጵያዊ አውሮፕላን ላይ አይወጣም በማለት አልተቀበሉትም፡፡ በኋላም አዲስ አበባ መጥቼና ተጃንሆይ ተመካክሬ እኛ ራሳችን እናቁም፣ አውሮፕላኑን በክሬዲት ይሽጡልን፣ ማኔጅመንትም በዓመት የተወሰነ ገንዘብ እየከፈልን ያግዙን የሚል ሀሣብ ላይ ደረስን፡፡ ይህን ሀሣብ ይዤ ሄጄ ከደብልቢ /T.W.A./ ተነጋገርን፣ በዚህ ስምምነት ለማድረግ ቻልኩ፡፡ ተT.W.A. ፕሬዚዳንት ጋር ውሉን በአዲስ አበባ ተፈራረምን /ዝርዝሩን ማየት/፡፡ ተዚያም በኋላ ኢትዮጵያን ኤርላይንስ ተቋቋመ፡፡ አሁን በኛ ፓይለትና ማኔጅመንት የሚካሄደው፣ በዓለምም ታላቅ ስሜት ያለው የኢትዮጵያ ኤርላይንስ ያንጊዜ ብዙ የደከምኩበት መሆኑን አርካይቭ ያስረዳል፡፡

5. የሰላም ጉባኤ /Peace Conference/ ተጣልያን ጋር /ሰኔ—ሐምሌ1946 እ.ኤ.አ./

ተ1943 ጀምሮ ወደፊት የዓለም ጦርነት ታለቀ በኋላ በሚደረገው የሰላም ጉባዔ ተካፋይ እንዳንሆን ጠላቶቻችን እንዳያደርጉ ሥጋት ነበረን። ይኸውም በዓለም ጦርነት ፓርቲሲፔት አላደረጉም በማለት፣ የኛ ጦርነት የተጀመረውና ያለቀው በ1936 እንደመሆኑና የሚበልጡት አገሮች የጣልያንን ይዞታ ስላወቁ፣ ይህንን ሁሉ በማሰብ ተጣልያን ጋር ጦርነቱ እንዳለቀ ወታደር ልከን እኛም አብረን ከባለቃልኪዳን አገሮች ጋር ተሰልፈን ጣልያንን ተኢትዮጵያ ውጭ እንድንዋጋ ፕሮፖዛል እየደጋገምን አቅርበን በፍጹም አልተቀበል አሉን /ሰበቡ የሰለጠነ ወታደር የላችሁም ነበር/።

ተጣልያን ጋር የሚደረገውን የሰላም ውል ድርድር አድርገው አሜሪካን፣ ሞስኮብ፣ እንግሊዝ፣ ፈረንሳይና ቻይና ሲነጋገሩ በዚሁ ጉባዔ ተካፋይ የሚሆኑትን መንግሥት፣ ቁጥርና ዓይነት ወሰኑ። የሰላም ውል የሚደረገው ከጣልያን ጋር በ1940 የተጀመረውን ጦርነት ለመዝጋት መሆኑንና ተካፋይ የሚሆነውም አገር በውጊያው ሥፍራ በአውሮፓ ጦር ልኮ የተዋጋ መሆኑን አስታወቁ።

በዚህ አኳኋን ተባለቃል ጓደኞች ተምንላቸው ጋር ተጣልያን ጋር ለሚያደርጉት የሰላም ውል ተካፋይ ለመሆን ሳንችል ነው። ታላቅ ጉዳትም ሊያመጣብን መቻሉን ገመትሁ። ለድርድር ጣልያንን ብቻችንን የገጠምን ጊዜ ጥያቄያችንን ሁሉ በእምቢታ እንደምትመልሰው አይጠረጠርም።

ስለዚህ ታራቶቹ ታላላቅ መንግሥቶች አሜሪካ፣ መስኮብ፣ እንግሊዝና ፈረንሳይ ጋር ንግግር ጀመርኩ። በመጀመሪያ ተአሜሪካኖች ጋር፣ ተዚያ ጊዜ ጀምሮ ለኛ ሲምፓቲ ያላቸው እነሱ ነበሩ። ለነሱም አንድ ደህና አድርጌ የጻፍኩትን ሚሞራንደም አቀረብኩላቸው።

ሀ/ እኛ ተጣልያን ጋር ገና በጦርነት ላይ እንዳለንና አርሚስቲስም፣ የሰላም ውልም እንዳልፈረምን /ፈረንሳይ ተጀርመን ጋር አርሚስቲስ ሲፈርም እንኳ፣ን/፣

ለ/ እምስቱን ዓመት ሙሉ እንያገዘም በማለት አርበኞቻችን በመዋጋታቸውና ጃንሆይም በጀኔቭ መሟገታቸውን ስለቀጠሉ /ማንኛውንም ተጣልያን የቀረበውን እፈር እምቢ ብለው፣ ጣልያን በኢትዮጵያ ከተማዎችን ተመያዙ በቀር አገሩን እንዳልያዘው፣

ሐ/ እኛ ውጊያችንን ባንቀጥል ኖሮ ጣልያን ኢትዮጵያ ላይ ብዙ ሰውና ወታደር አስፍሮ፣ ኢትዮጵያን እንዳንድ ቤዝ ፎርትሬስ አድርጐ ሱዳንና ግብጽን እንዲሁም ኬንያን በቀላሉ ይይዝ ነበር፣

መ/ ይህ ስላልሆነ ነው በ1940 ገና ጣልያን ጦር ሲገባ በትንሽ በኢትዮጵያ አርበኞችና በትንሽ እንግሊዝ ወታደር ወዲያውኑ እጁን የሰጠው።

ሠ/ ስለዚህ እኛ በ1940 ለተጀመረው ጦርነት ጦር ሜዳ ላይ ወታደር ልከን እንደተዋጋን መቆጠር አለበት፣ በዚህ ሁሉ ምክንያት ለሰላሙ ጉባዔ ተካፋይ መሆን እንዳለብን በማለት ነበር።

አሜሪካኖችም ሀሳቡን በሲምፓቲ ተቀብለውት «እኛ እንቃወምም፣ ሃሳቡን ያመጣውና ብዙህ ያስቸገረው መስኮብ ስለሆነ እሱን ታስቀብላችሁ እኛ እንቀበላለን» አሉኝ። /መስኮብ ይህን ያመጣው አገር የበዛ ጊዜ የሚበልጠው የዌስት ወገን ስለሆነ በድምጽ ብልጫ እንዳይሸነፍ ነው።/

ተመስኮብም ጋር ንግግር አደረግሁ። «እኛ መጀመሪያ የፋሺስት ቪክትም ሆነን፣ አሁን እኛን የወጋው ፋሽስት አገር ጋር የሰላም ውል ሲደረግ እንዴት እኛ ተካፋይ አልሆንም? መስኮብስ የአፍሪካና የቲኒኒሽ አገሮች ተከራካሪ አይደለምን? የኢትዮጵያና የመስኮብ ወዳጅነት በታሪክ ውስጥ እንዴት ይረሳል? ጀኔቭስ ጉባዔ ላይ እናንተ አልነበራችሁም ለኛ የምትከራከሩት?» በማለት። መስኮብ ሁሉንም ታመዘበ በኋላ እደግፋለሁ ብሎ ቃል ሰጠ። ተዚያም በኋላ ሁለቱ ታላላቅ መንግሥቶች ተተቀበሉት በኋላ ፈረንሳይንና እንግሊዝን ለማስቀበል በሚገባቸው መንገድ አስረድቼ እንዲቀበሉት አደረግሁ። በዚህ አኳኋን ነው እስቸጋሪና ደልኬት በሆነ ኔጐሳሲዮን ኢትዮጵያ ተሌሎቹ ሃያ መንግሥታት ጋር ተሰልፋ ተጣልያን ጋር ለሚደረገው የሰላም ውል ተካፋይና ጥያቄዎችን ሁሉ ለማቅረብ የቻለችው።

ለሰላሙ ጉባዔ የሚቀርበውን ኢሴ ሁሉ ማስናዳት ነበረብኝ።

ሀ/ ጣልያን በቅኝ አገሮች ላይ ያላትን ይዞታ ሁሉ እንድትለቅ ማድረግ፤

ለ/ በኤርትራ ላይ /እንዲሁም በሱማሌ ላይ/ ያለንን ሬቪንዲክሽን ማስናዳት፤

ሐ/ የጦር ካሣ መጠየቅና የተደረገብንን ጥፋት ዝርዝር ማስናዳት/ የሞተውን ሰው ቁጥር፤ የተቃጠለውን ቤትና ቤተክርስቲያን/ ሌላም የደረሰ ጉዳት፤ ይህ ሁሉ ብዙ ሪሰርች ያስፈልጋል። እስታቲስቲክ የለም፤ የተማረ ሰው የለም።

ተሃያ መንግሥታት፤ ተካፋይ ተሆኑት፤ ለሁለት ወገን ስለለዩ ተማን ጋር ይጠቅመናል። ተሃያዎቹ 16 የዌስት ወገን ስለሆኑ ጣልያንን ይረዳሉ፤ ጣልያን ኮሚኒስት እንዳትሆን። ከአስራ ስድስቶቹ ውስጥ እነአሜሪካን፤ እነእንግሊዝና ፈረንሳይ የሚገኙበት ነው። አራቶቹ ደግሞ መስኮብ፤ ዩጉዝላቪ፤ ኡክሬንና ቢሉፕሽያ ጣልያንን ይቃወማሉ። ከመስኮቦች ጋር የሆን ከ16ቶቹ በድምጽ ብልጫ ያሸንፉናል፤ ተነሱ ጋር የሆን ጊዜ ጣልያንን ለማስቀየም ስለማይፈልጉ ብዙ አይረዱንም በማለት ታላቅ ሥጋት ላይ ወደቅን።

በዚህም ምክንያት ለዋናቹ አሜሪካን፤ እንግሊዝ፤ መስኮብና ፈረንሳይ በየጊዜው የኛን ጥያቄና ሐሳብ እንዲረዱት በየጊዜው እደክም ነበር። ይህም ተ1944 ጀምሮ ሩዝቬልትንና ቸርችልን ከተገናኘንበት ጆምሮ።

የጉባዔው ጊዜያት እንደደረሰ ተአራቶቹ በፓሪስ ለሚደረገው የሰላም ጉባኤ ተካፋይ እንድንሆን ሌሎቹ መንግሥቶች እንደተደረገው ጥሪ ደረሰን። እኔም እውጭ አገር ይኸንኑ ለመነጋገር ስለነበርኩ ለጃንሆይ ሥራውን እሠራለሁ ግን በዛ ያሉና ታላላቅ ሰዎች እንደን ቢትወደድ መኮንንና ራስ አበበ ተጨምረው እንዲላኩ ብዬ አሳሰብኩ። /እነሱን አንቀበልም በማለት የሳንፍራንሲስኮ ጉባዔ ኤክስፒሪያንስ ስላለ/ የደሊጊሽኑ መሪ እኔ ሆኜ ተኔ ጋር እነ ብላቴን ጌታ ሎሬንዞ፤ ብላታ ኤፍሬም፤ አቶ ተፈራወርቅ ኪዳንወልድ፤ አቶ ተስፋዬ ተገኝ፤ አቶ መንበረ ያየህይራድ ሆነን የጉባዔው ተካፋይ እንድንሆን ጃንሆይ ትእዛዝ በብእራቸው ጽፈው ላኩልኝ /ታደራ ጋር/፤ ይህ ደብዳቤ አርካይቭ ይገኛል።

5.1 ኮንፍራንሱና ዲቤቱ እንደምን እንደተካሄደ

በየተራ መልክተኞች ሁሉ ሃሳባቸውን ለመግለጽ ዲስኩራቸውን አደረጉ። እኔም የኢትዮጵያን ፖዚሽን፤ የተደረገባትን ግፍና ጉዳት፤ ጥያቄያችንና ሪቬንዲክሽናችንን ያጠቃለለ ትልቅ ዲስኩር አደረግሁ /ዲስኩሩን ማየት/።

በመጨረሻም የኢጣልያን ተራ ሲደርስ አስጊ ኢንሲዳ /incident/ ደረሰ። ይኸውም የጣልያን የውጭ ጉዳይ ሚኒስትር ጋስፓር በዲስኩሩ ውስጥ፤ «እዚህ የተሰበሰብነው የውሉ ድራፍት እንደሚያመለክተው በ1940 ዓ.ም. የተጀመረውን ጦር ለመዝጋት ነው። (... to put an end to the 1940 war ...) ተኢትዮጵያ ጋር ጦርነቱ የተጀመረው በ1935 ሆኖ በ1936 አለቀ። ስለዚህ ኢትዮጵያ እዚህ ምን ታደርጋላችሁ? እዚህ ታላችሁት በዘጠና ፐርሰንት የእኛን ይዞታ አውቃችኋል። በዚህ አኳኋን ተሆን የቻይናና የጃፓንን ጦርነት ለምን አናይም?» ሲል ተናገረ። በመልክተኞቹ ላይ የመቸገርና የመደንገጥም መልክ ይታይ ነበር።

እኔም ወዲያውኑ መድረክ ጠይቄ በቁጣ መልክ ጠንካራ የሆነ መልስ ሰጠሁ። ይኸውም እንዲህ የሚል ነበር። «እኛ እዚህ የመጣነው ሰላምን ፈልገን ነበር፤ ተጣልያን ጋር በ1935 ጦርነቱ ተተጀመረ ጀምሮ እስታሁን በጦርነት ላይ ነን። አርሚስቲስም፤ ሰላምም ውል አላደረግንም። ጣልያን ሰላም አልፈልግም፤ ጦርነቱን እቀጥላለሁ ካለ ጦርነቱ እንዲቀጥል ዛሬውኑ አዲስ አበባ ለጃንሆይ ቴሌግራም አደርጋለሁ። በዚህ አኳኋን በኢትዮጵያ የሚገኙት ወደ 300,000 የሚሆኑ ጣልያኖች ለሚደርስባቸው ሁሉ እኛ ኃላፊ አንሆንም» አልኩ። ጉባዔው የበለጠ ችግር ላይ ሆነ፤ ለጊዜው እንዲቆም ተደረገ። እውጭ በአሜሪካና በፈረንሳይ አማካይነት ኔጎሳሲዮን ተደረገ። ሁሉም «አብዳችኋል?! ኢትዮጵያ ያሉት ጣልያኖች ሁሉ ያልቃሉ!» በማለት በጣልያኑ ላይ ወረዱበት። በመጨረሻም እሰላም ውል ውስጥ፤ «በኢትዮጵያና በጣልያን መካከል ትልቁ ጦርነት የተጀመረው ጥቅምት 3/1935 /ኢ.ኤ.አ/ ነው። ይህም ውል የሚያዘው ሁሉ ተዚያ ጀምሮ መርጋት አለበት» የሚል

ቃል እንዲገባ ጠየቅሁ። ይህም፣ ውል እንዲሁም ፕሮሚስ ሆኖ ጣልያን እንዲቀበል አደረጉት። ይህም በተፈረመው የሰላም ውል በአንቀጽ 38 ይገኛል።

5.1.1 ስለአገር ያደረግነው ሪቬንዲክሽን /ጥያቄ/

ታሪክንና ማስረጃን ጨምረን በሚገባ በኤርትራ ያለንን ጥያቄ አቀረብን፤ እንደዚሁም ታሪክን በመጥቀስ በሶማሌ ላይ። ጣልያን በቅኝ አገሮች ላይ ያላትን ይዞታ ሁሉ እንድትተው፤ ስለዚህም ያደረግነውን ዲስኩር፣ ያቀረብነውን ሜሞራንደም ሁሉ ማየት ስለዚህም ጉዳይ ፕሮፌሰር ቤንችዊች የጻፈውን ማየት።

የግብጽ መልክተኛ /ላንድ ጊዜ እንዲናገሩ ተፈቅዶላቸው ነበር/ «ድሮ ማሳዋን ይዘን ነበርና ለኛ ይገባል» ብሎ ጥያቄ አቅርቦ ነበር። የሚገባውን መልስ ሰጠሁት። «መጀመሪያ የቱርክ ተገዢዎች ነበራችሁ፤ የመጣውም ለትንሽ ጊዜ ትንሽ ሥፍራ ይዞ ወዲያው ተመለሰ። እናንተ ግን በነራስ አሉላ በዶጉላቲና ጉንዳጉንዲ ተዋርዳችሁ የተጨረሳችሁበትን አስታውሱ» ብዬ መለስኩለት። ተዚያም በኋላ በጥያቄም አልቀጠለም።

ጉባዔው ሁለት ወር ያህል ተሠራ፤ በኋላ ስለጣልያኖች ቅኝ ግዛቶች ቀጥሎ ባለው አኳኋን ተጻፈ።

አንቀጽ 23 ሀ/ ጣልያን በቅኝ አገሮች ላይ ያላትን መብት ሁሉ ለቃለች፤ ለ/ የነኝህ አገሮች እድል /fate/ በታላላቆቹ አራት መንግሥታት አሜሪካ፣ መስኮብ፣ እንግሊዝና ፈረንሳይ ይወስናል። ሲወስኑም የሕዝቡን ፍላጐት፣ የሰላምንና የሴኩሪቲን መሠረት ኢንትሬ ያላቸውንም መንግሥታት ሃሳብ በመስማት ነው። አራቶቹ ስምምነት ያላገኙ ጊዜ ጉዳዩ ወደ ዩናይትድ ኔሽን እንዲቀርብ የሚል ነው።



ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትር አክሊሉ ሀብተወልድ ከፈረንሳይ ፕሬዚዳንት ቻርለስ ደጎል ጋር ሲወያዩ።

ባንድ ዓመት ጊዜ ውስጥ በዚህ ድራፍት ላይ እኛ ብዙ ደክመናል። ሰላምና ሴኩሪቲን መሠረት በማድረግ ያልነው፣ እኛ በየጊዜው የተወረርነው በኤርትራና በሱማሌ በመሆኑ ኢንትሪ ያላቸውን መንግሥታት ሃሳብ ያልነው አራቱ ፊት እየቀረብን ሃሳባችንን እንድናቀርብ ነው።

የጦር ካሣ፣ አራቱ መንግሥታት ለኢትዮጵያና ለአልባኒ አምስት ሚሊዮን የአሜሪካን ዶላር እንዲከፈል ነበር ያቀረቡት።

ጣልያን ግን ለኢትዮጵያ ምንም መክፈል አይገባኝም ብሎ ተሟገተ። ለዚሁም የሠራውን መንገድ፣ መብራት፣ ቤት፣ ሌላም ልዩ ልዩ የሚያሳይ መጽሔት፣ በፊት ኢትዮጵያ ምን መንገድ፣ ምን መብራት፣ ምን ቤት እንዳላት /እንዲያስቅ እያደረጉ/፣ እነሱ ተመጡ በኋላም የተሠራውን መንገድ ሌላም የሚያሳይ ሥዕል ጨምረው

አቀረቡ፡፡ እኔም የተሠራው መንገድ ለስትራቴጂ ውጊያ የሚረዳ ጋራ ጋራውን እየተከተለ እንጂ ለልማት የሚሆን ሜዳ ሜዳውን ወይም ወንዝን እየተከተለ አለመሆኑን፣ ለራሳቸው ለውጊያ ጥቅም እንጂ ለኛ አይጠቅመንም ብዬ በሚገባ መልስ ሰጥቻቸው እነሱም ኢምፕሬስ ሆኑ፡፡ በመጨረሻም ተብዙ ክርክር በኋላ 25 ሚሊዮን የአሜሪካን ዶላር ተወሰነልን፡፡ /30 ሚሊዮን ሲሆን ሃሳብ ቀርቦ በአንድ ድምጽ ብቻ /ግሪክ ወደ አልባኒ/ ያው ሃያ አምስት ሚሊዮን ብቻ ሆነ፡፡

5.1.2 የጣልያን ንብረትና የጣልያን ኤምባሲ

በሕጉ መሠረት የሚወሰደው የጣልያን የመንግሥት ንብረት የሆነውን ብቻ ነበር፡፡ እንደዚሁም ኤምባሲ የተባለ ሁሉ አይነካም /ፈረንሳይ ለምሳሌ፣ እንደኛው አራት ዓመት በጀርመን ተይዛ ነፃ ስትሆን የጀርመን ኤምባሲና የጀርመኖች የግል ንብረት አልነካችም/፡፡ እኛ ግን ጣልያኖች የሠሩት የግል ቤትና ያፈሩትም ንብረት ባምስቱ ዓመት በውጊያ ላይ ስለሆነ በጉድ ፈዝ የተደረገ አይደለምና አይረጋላቸውም ብለን በዚሁ አስወሰንን፡፡ ኤምባሲያቸውንም እንመልስም ስንል ግን ሁሉም ጮሁብን፡፡ እኔ ግን ጣልያኖች የኤምባሲን ካራክተር አልጠበቁም፤ የጦር ሠፈር አድርገውት ነበር ብዬ ተሟገትሁ፡፡ በዚህም አኳኋን አሜሪካን፣ እንግሊዝ፣ ፈረንሳይና መስኮብ ይህ ውል ውስጥ ተሚገባ አራታችን ኦፊሴል የሆነ ዴክሌሬሽን እናደርጋለን ብለው አደረጉ፡፡ ይህም ኤምባሲን የሚመለከተው አንቀጽ አይረጋም፤ ኢትዮጵያ ትውሰደው የሚል ነበር፡፡ በዚህ አኳኋን የኢጣልያንን ኤምባሲ ተረከብን፡፡ /በኋላ የተሰጣቸው በሱ ግምት ጣልያን አገር እነሱ ለኛ ቦታና ቤት ስለሰጡ ነው፤ አሁን የእኛ ኤምባሲ ያለበትን፡፡/

የወሰድነው የጠላት ንብረት በብዙ ሚሊዮን የሚቆጠር ነው፡፡ የቆታም ዳም የተሠራው በተቀበልነው የጦር ካሣ መሆኑን ማስታወስ ያስፈልጋል፡፡

ማጠቃለያ

1. እስላም ጉባዔ ተሴሎቹ መንግሥቶች ጋር በእኩልነት ተካፋይ ለመሆን ቻልን፤
2. ጣልያን በቅኝ አገሮች ላይ በኤርትራ፣ ሱማሌ፣ ሊቢያ ያላትን መብት እንድትሰቅ አድርገናል፤
3. በመጀመሪያ ጊዜ በኤርትራ ላይ ያለንን ጥያቄ በሚገባ ለማቅረብ ቻልን፤
4. የጣልያንና የኢትዮጵያ ጦርነት በ1940 የተጀመረው የዓለም ጦርነት አንዱ ክፍልና መጀመሪያው መሆኑን አስቀበልን፤
5. የጣልያን ቅኝ አገሮች ጉዳይ ሲወሰን የኢትዮጵያ ሃሳብ እንዲሰማና ኮንሲደሬሽን እንዲሰጠው አስቀበልን፤
6. 25 ሚሊዮን ዶላር የጦር ካሣ እንዲሰጠን አደረግን፤
7. የጠላት ንብረት፣ የመንግሥትም የግልም፣ ኢትዮጵያ እንድትወስድ አስደረግን።

6. ኤርትራን ለመመለስ ያደረግሁት ትግል

6.1 አራቶቹ መንግሥቶች ዘንድ የተደረገው ትግል

በፓሪስ የሰላም ውል ውስጥ /1937/ እንደተመለከተው አራቶቹ መንግሥታት /አሜሪካ፣ መስኮብ፣ እንግሊዝ፣ ፈረንሳይ/ የጣልያንን የቅኝ አገሮች ጉዳይ መጨረስ ያለባቸው ባንድ ዓመት ውስጥ ነው። ሳይጨርሱ የቀሩ ጊዜ ጉዳዩ ለዩናይትድ ኔሽን እንዲቀርብ ነው የተወሰነው። ጉዳዩን ለመወሰን መሠረት የሚያደርጉትም እላይ ተዘርዝሯል። በዚህ በአንድ ዓመት ሥራዬ ጊዜያት የገጠመኝን እዚህ ለመዘርዘር አይቻልም።

ያራቱ መንግሥታት በሉንዶን ተሰብስበው የኢትዮጵያን ሃሳብ እኛ እንስማለንና በዚህች ቀን እንድትገኝ የሚል መልክት አርብ /ሁለት ቀን ሲቀረው/ አስታወቁ። ያን ጊዜ አውሮፕላን የለን፣ የእንግሊዝ /B.O.C./ የሚመጣው በሳምንት አንድ ቀን ነው። የትራንስፖርት ችግር ስላለብኝ ለአራትና ለአምስት ቀን እስተላልፉልኝ ብዬ ጠየቅሁ። እነሱም ባልነው ቀን ታልሆን ብለው ጥያቄዬን አልቀበል አሉ። ችግር ላይ ሆንን። አንድ ትንሽ አይሮፕላን፣ ለጃንሆይ የእንግሊዝ መንግሥት የሰጣቸው፣ እንሬጅስተርድ የሆነች፣ ይገኘ ለመሄድ ቆረጥሁ። በሱዳን፣ ግብጽ፣ ግሪክ፣ ፈረንሳይ አገር እያረፈች ቤንዚን በመውሰድ መንገዝ ስላለባት ተነኘህ አምባሳደሮች የተጻፈ ወረቀት ተቀብዬ ቅዳሚት ተነሳሁ። ሱዳን ደህና ተቀበሉን። ግብጽ ግን ሉክሶር ስንደርስ ወረቀቱን ባሳየውም «እኛ ተእስራኤል ጋር ጦርንት ላይ ነው ያለነው። ይህ ወረቀት እውንት መሆኑን አላውቅም፣ ፓይለቱም ነጭ ስለሆነ እስራኤል ይሆናል፣ ጦርንት ላይ ስለሆንም ታስር ሰዓት /4 afternoon/ በኋላ መብረር ክልክል ነው። ስለዚህ በቀጥታ ወደ ካይሮ ሄዳችሁ እዚያ ትመረመራላችሁ፣ በአውሮፕላን እናስከትላችኋለን» አለኝ። እሽ ብለን ተሳፈርን። ፓይለቱ ምን ላድርግ አለኝ። ካይሮ የሄድን ጊዜ ተሰኞ ቀጠሮ ሊሰናከልብኝና **የኢትዮጵያ ጉዳይ ሊበላሽ** ነው። ለፓይለቱ ገዞም

ብለህ ቀይ ባህርን እየተከተልክ ሂድ፣ ሪስክ ማድረግ አለብን አልኩት። በዚሁ ዝም ብለን እየሰጋን ተጓዝን። ሜዲትራኒያ ባህር ስንደርስ እፎይ አልን። ማታ በጭለማ በ3 ሰዓት ሼፒር ደረስን። ቤንዚን አለቀብን፣ እንድንወርድም ፈቃድ ጠየቅን። መብራት ስለሌላቸው የካሚዎን መብራት አብርተው ለመውረድ ቻልን። እዚያም አደርን። በማግሥቱ እሁድ ግሪክ ደረስን፣ ደህና ተቀበሉን። ወዲያው ተነስተን ፈረንሳይ አገር ማርሴይ አረፍን። ቤንዚንም ታልክፈላችሁ አንሰጥም ብለው ያልታወቀ አውሮፕላን ነው በማለትም አስቸገሩን። በእንደዚህ አኳኋን እንደምንም ሉንዶን ደረስን። ይህ አንዱ ምሳሌ ብቻ እንዲሆን ነው።

እሉንዶን እንደደረስሁ ያራቱን ወኪሎች እየዞርኩ ተገናኘሁ። እንደምንም በችግር እንደመጣሁ አስረዳኋቸው። ዋናው ኮንታክት ለማድረግ ነው።

ጉባዔውም እንደተከፈተ 60 ገጽ ያለውን ዲስኩሬን አትሜ ላራቶቹ ሰጥቼ ማንበብ ጀመርኩ። ጊዜያቱሙቀት ስለነበረ /August/ የፈረንሳይ ወኪል፣ «ይህንን ሁሉ እስክታነብ እዚህ ልንቆይ ነውን? ንግግርህን ታድለናል፣ ለምን ታነበዋለህ?» አለ። እኔ፣ «ተብዙ ችግር በኋላ ስንት ሺህ ኪሎ ሜትር አቋርጬ የመጣሁት ሁለት ሰዓት ትሰጡናላችሁ ብዬ ተስፋ በማድረግ ነው» አልኩት። ፕሬዝዳንቱ መስኮብ ስለነበረ /ማሊክ/ እውነቱን ነው፣ መስማት አለብን ብሎ ወሰነ። ንግግሬም ታለቀ በኋላ አንዳንድ ጥያቄ ሲደርስ ለሁሉም መለስኩ። የፈረንሳይ /ማሲግሊ/ «ስለኤርትራ ጥያቄ እንኳን ይሁን፣ ደግሞ ሱማሌ ምን መብት አላችሁ?» አለኝ። ዋሚ፣ «ታሪክ እንደሚያስረዳው የፈረንሳይ ሱማሌ የእኛ ነበር። ይህን አያውቁትም?» መስኮብ ደስ ብሎት ያውልህ መልስ አለው። ከዚያም በኋላ በደንብ የተሰናዳ ሜሞራንደም አስረክቤ ተለያየን።

ከዚህም በኋላ አራቶቹ መንግሥቶች በኤርትራና በሱማሌ የኢንኳየሪ ኮሚሽን ላኩ፣ የእንግሊዝ መልክተኛ /በኮሚስዮኑ ውስጥ/ ስታፎርድ ነበር፣ በፊት አዲስ የገንዘብ አማካሪ የነበረው። የአሜሪካኑ የሚመራው በሚስተር ኸተር ነበር፣ በስቱት ዲፓርትማ የኢትዮጵያን

ጉዳይ የሚከታተልና ተብዙ ጊዜ ጀምሮ የማውቀው። የፈረንሳይ ቢሻር ዳፎዚዬ የሚባለው፣ የመስኮብን አላውቀውም ነበር።

ኤርትራ፣ አሥመራ ሄድኳርተራቸውን አድርገው ኢንኳየሪውን በሚያደርጉበት ጊዜያት እኔ አሜሪካን አገር ለዩናይትድ ኔሽን ጉባዔ እገኝ ነበርኩ። ተኔም ጋር አቶ ገብረመስቀልና ብላታ ዳዊት ዕቁበእግዚእ ነበሩ። ኮሚሲዮኑ ኤርትራ በመገኘቱ ቸኩዬ በግብጽ በኩል ተመለስኩ። ከዚያም ኮሌራ ገብቶ ነበርና ለመከተብ የተወሰነውን ጊዜያት ግብጽ ተመድረሴ በፊት አላገኘሁም። አውሮፕላን ስጠብቅ ለሁለት ቀን ቆየሁ። ተዚያም አሥመራ ስደርስ አገረ ገዢው እንግሊዝ ኮሚስዮኑ ያለበትን ቻዎ የሚባለውን ሆቴል ሪኩዚስዮን አድርጉ ሥፍራው ሰውም አይገባም አለኝ። እኔ እዚያ አድሬ ተኮሚሲዮናቹ አባሎች ጋር ለመነጋገር ነበር /ስለማውቃቸው/። በኋላም አዲስ አበባ የሚመጣ የአሜሪካን አምባሳደር አንድ ሌሊት እዚህ ስለሚያድር እሱ እስኪመጣ ላንድ ሌሊት እዚያ እንዳድር ተፈቀደልኝ። እዚያም ተገባሁ በኋላ ማታውኑ እየመኝታ ቤታቸው ሄጄ እያንዳንዱን አባሎች አነጋገርኳቸው። ተስፋ የሚያስቆርጥ ነገር ነገሩኝ። የክርስቲያኑ ክፍል እንኳን እነራስ ተሰማ ተሰባ ሺህ ጦር ጋር ኢትዮጵያን አንፈልግም፣ እንግሊዝን ነው እንጂ ብለው ቃላቸውን ሰጥተዋል አሉኝ። በዚያን ጊዜ ሌአዞን ኦፊሰር ነበረን፣ እሱም ጀነራል ነጋ ኃይለሥላሴ ነበር። እሱንም በረጅሙ አነጋገርኩት። እንዳስረዳኝም የእንግሊዝ አድሚኒስትሬሽን ብዙ ሳቦታጅ እንዳደረገብን ነው፤ ትራንስፖርትና ቤንዚን በመከልከል። በዚህም ለሚስተር ቢቨን፣ የእንግሊዝ የውጭ ጉዳይ ሚኒስትር፣ ተገቢውን ፕሮቴስታስዮን በየጊዜው አደረግሁ። ችግሩ ምንም ትእዛዝ ቢሰጥ ኮሎኔል አፊክ ደግሞ የፈለገውን ያደርግ ነበረ። በመጨረሻም የኮሚስዮኑ ራፖር ታትሞ ለዩናቲድ ኔሽን ቀረበ። ስምምነት አላገኙም፣ አንዳንድ መንግሥት የራሱን ፖሊሲ ለኮሚስዮን አባል ላደረገው መሪ ትእዛዝ ስለሰጠው። ከኮሚሲዮኑ ራፖር ባጭሩ የሚለው /ትክክለኛውን ለማወቅ ራፖሩን ማየት ያስፈልጋል/ ቀጥሎ እንዳለው ነው።

ሀ/ አሜሪካንና እንግሊዝ ተሕዝቡ አርባ በመቶ ብቻ ተኢትዮጵያ ጋር ለመቀላቀል ይፈልጋል። /በ60 እጁ አይፈልግም።/ ስለዚህ

የአሜሪካን ሐሳብ ተእስመራ ከተማና ተምጽዋ በቀር አሰብና ሌላው የክርስቲያኑ አገር፣ አካለጉዛይ፣ ሀማሴን፣ ሠራዬና አቀርዳት ሳይጨመር፣ ለኢትዮጵያ እንዲሰጥ። የእንግሊዝ ሀሳብ ደግሞ ላስር ዓመታት ኤርትራን በሞግዚትነት ኢትዮጵያ እስተዳድራ ከዚያ በኋላ አገሩ ነጻ አገር እንዲሆን።

ሰ/ መስኮብና ፈረንሳይ ያቀረቡት ደግሞ ሕዝቡ ሰላሳ በመቶ ኢትዮጵያን ይፈልጋል፣ ሰባ በመቶ አይፈልግም። የሰጡትም ሃሳብ አሰብ ብቻ ለኢትዮጵያ ተሰጥቶ ሌላው ለጣልያን በሞግዚትነት እንዲሰጥ ነበር።

በዚህ አኳኋን አራቱ መንግሥቶች ስምምነት ስላጡ የፓሪስ የሰላም ውል እንደሚያዘው ጉዳዩ ለዩናይትድ ኔሽን ቀረበ።

በዩናይትድ ኔሽን ጉዳዩ ተመታየቱ በፊት እየዞርኩ ተአራቶቹ የውጭ ጉዳይ ሚኒስትሮች ጋር ተገናኝተን ማስረዳት አስፈላጊ መሆኑን ተረዳሁት። በመጀመሪያ ተጀነራል ማርሻል ጋር፣ የአሜሪካን የውጭ ጉዳይ ሚኒስትር የነበረው፣ በ1948 ፓሪስ ላይ የዩናትድ ኔሽን ጉባዔ ስለነበረ እዚያ ነው ሁሉንም ያነጋገርኩት። እራሱ እንዲያነበው በማሰብ አጭር ሚሞራንደም አሰናድቼ ሄጄ ነበር።

እሥመራንና ምጽዋን ያስከለክሉን ማስተዳደር አይችሉም በማለት መሆኑን ስለገመትኩ፣ ተእሥመራ አምስት ጊዜ የሚበልጥ ሕዝብ ያለበትን አገር አዲስ አበባ ስናስተዳድር እንዴት እሥመራን ማስተዳደር አንችልም? ምጽዋም በገቢው የሚተዳደር መሆኑን ተስታስቲኩ ጋር አስረዳሁት፣ በሚገባው መንገድ። «አሜሪካን የቲኒኒሽ አገሮች ጠባቂ ሆና እኛ መጀመሪያ ቪክትም የሆነው፣ በየጊዜው የወረራ በር የሆነውን ፖርትና አገር፣ የኢትዮጵያ ዋና ታሪኳ የተጀመረበትን አገር /አዱሊስን/ እንዴት ትከለክሉናላችሁ? እኛ መቼም ወገን የሌለን ትንሽ አገር ነን፣ የምንጠይቀው ጆስቲስ ነው። ይህንንም እናንተ አሜሪካኖች፣ እንተ ኮሊኒአሊስቶች የሆናችሁ፣ ተከለከላችሁን ምን እናደርጋለን» በማለት፣ በሚያሳዝን አኳኋንና በሚገባው መንገድ አስረዳሁት። በመጨረሻም «ይህን አጭር ማስታወሻ ራስዎ እንዲያነቡት

እለምናለሁ። የያዘውም ፋክት ብቻ ነው፤ አንድ ነገር ውሸት ሆኖ ቢገኝ ሁሉም ይቅርብን» አልኳቸው። እሳቸውም በትካዜ እኳ.ኒን ሁሉንም ሰምተው ማስታወሻውን ተቀብለው «እነበዋለሁ፤ ተፕሬዚዳንት ቱሩማን ጋርም ተመካክሬ መልሱን እስከ አሥራ አምስት ቀን እሰጥሃለሁ» አሉኝ።

ተአሥራ አምስት ቀን በኋላም አስጠርተው መልስ ሰጡኝ፤ ቀጥሎ ያለውን። «ተፕሬዚዳን ቱሩማን ጋር ተመካክሬ ተአሥመራም ምጽዋንም፤ ተአሰብ ጋር ሌላውንም ተእቆርጻት ሲቀር ለኢትዮጵያ እንዲሰጥ አሜሪካን ይስማማል። ግን አንድ ምክር የምሰጥህ ታንድ ወር በኋላ በአሜሪካን የፕሬዝዳንት ምርጫ አለ። ግምቱ የሪፑብሊካን ፓርቲ ያገኛል ነው። ይህም ሲሆን ፕሬዝዳንቱ ዝቨርንር ዲ.ዊ /ኖኒዮርክ/፣ የውጭ ጉዳይ ሚኒስትር የሚሆነውም ሚስተር ዳላስ ነው። ዳላስም አሁን በኛ ዴሊጌሽን ውስጥ ስላለ እሱን ለኔ የነገርከኝን ሁሉ ብታስረዳው ይጠቅማል» አሉኝ። እኔም በጣም አመስግኜ ተሰናብቼ ሄድኩ።

ዳላስንም በቀጠሮ ተገናኝቼ ለማርሻል እንዳስረዳሁት አደረግሁ። ሚሞራንደምም ሰጠሁት። እሱም በመጨረሻ «ይህን ሁሉ ለኔ የምታስረዳኝ ለምንድነው? እኔ ምንም አይደለሁ» ሲል፣ «ምናልባት በቅርቡ የውጭ ጉዳይ ሚኒስትር ሳይሆኑ አይቀሩም» አልኩት። በመደሰት ከት ብሎ ሳቀ። በመጨረሻም ተዝቨርንር ዲዊ ጋር ተመካክሬ መልሱን እስከ ስምንት ቀን እሰጥሃለሁ አለኝ። ተስምንት ቀን በኋላ አስጠርቶ ምርጫውን ያገኙን ጊዜ ማርሻል እንዳለው እኛም ኤርትራን እንድታገኝ እንደግፋለን ብሎ አረጋገጠልኝ። /ምርጫውን ግን አላገኙም፤ ትሩማን ነው ያገኘው። ተዳላስ ጋር ባንድ ሆቴል ስለነበርን ተገናኝተን ተወያየን።/

ተንግሊዞች ጋር እንደዚሁ ተገናኝቼ ተነጋገርኩ። ኢትዮጵያዊ የሆኑትን ወንድሞቻችንን እንዴት በሞግዚትነት አስተዳድሩ ትሉናላችሁ? ወዳጆቻችን፤ ጃንሆይን የተቀበላችሁ፤ አምስቱን ዓመት ሙሉ ተስፋችን የምንላችሁ በማለት። እነሱም «አሜሪካኖች ናቸው ያስቸገሩት፤ አሥመራም ምጽዋም ለኢትዮጵያ አይሰጥም ስላሉ፤ የሙስኮብና የፈረንሳይን ሙተው ነው፤ እነሱ ሁሉም ሰጣልያን ይመለስ ነው የሚሉት። ስለዚህ አሜሪካኖችን ኩንቪንስ ታደረግህ እኛ ኤርትራ /ተእቆርጻት በቀር/ ለኢትዮጵያ

ቢመለስ እንቃወምም» ሲሉ፣ እኔም ተአሜሪካኖች ጋር ያደረግሁትን ስምምነት ስገልጥላቸው እኛም በዚሁ እንስማማለን አሉ። /የእቅርዳትን ሁለቱም ጠንክረው በዘርም፣ በሃይማኖትም ተናንተ ጋር ግንኙነት ስለሴለው ወደፊት ይታያል በማለት ነው፤ የእንግሊዝ ሃሳብ ግን ተሱዳን እንዲቀሳቀል ነበር።/ እኔም ይሄን ያህል ታስቀበልኂቸው የዩናይትድ ኔሽን ጉዳዩ ሲቀርብ የእቅርዳትን በወዳጅ መንግሥት በኩል፣ ለእነዚህ፣ አብሮ በኢትዮጵያ እንዲላክ አደርጋለሁ ብዬ አቅጄ ነበር።

የፈረንሳይና የመስኮብ ሁናቴ ልዩ ምክንያት አለው። መስኮብ በጣልያን አገር በቺጉሎቲ የሚመራ ኃይለኛ የኮሚኒስት ፓርቲ ስላለ፣ መስኮብ ጣልያንን ረድቷል ተብሎ የኮሚኒስት ፓርቲ በኢሌክሽን ምርጫ አግኝቶ መንግሥቱን እንዲይዝ ለማድረግ ነው።

ፈረንሳይ ሁሉም ለኢጣልያን ይመለስ የሚለው ሊቢያ ነጻ መንግሥት የሆነ ጊዜያት ለአልጀርና ቱኒዚ የቅኝ ግዛቱ ስላሲጋ ነው። «ሊቢያና ኤርትራ ምንም አያገናኛቸው። ኤርትራ ለኢትዮጵያ ብትሉ ምን ይጉዳችኂል? ያሉብትም ኢስት አፍሪካና ኖርዝ አፍሪካ ነው» በማለት ተሚኒስተር ቢዶ ጋር ብዙ ብክራክርም፣ «የፕሪንሲፓል ጉዳይ ነው፣ መለያየት አይቻልም» ብለው በዚሁ ከረረ። መስኮብም እንደዚሁ። ሁሉም የራሱን ጥቅም እንጂ በፖለቲካ ጀስቲስ እንደሌለ የታወቀ ነው። ግን ፈረንሳይ ምንም ኢንፍሉየንስ ያን ጊዜ ስለሌላት /የተሸነፈች በመሆኗ/፣ መስኮብም ያለው ወገን ተዎስትና ታራት የማይበልጥ ስለሆነ፣ ተሃምሣ ሁለት መንግሥታት ውስጥ የሚበልጠው ድምጽ ለኛ እንደሚሆን በመገመት ወደ ጉባዔው ለመሄድ መሰናዳት ጀመርኩ። ይህ ግምት ነው። ጉባዔው ሲከፈት ግን የየመንግሥቶቹ ትክክለኛ አቋም ያን ጊዜ ነው የሚታወቀው። ለምሳሌ፣ 21 የአሜሪካ ላቲን አገሮች አሜሪካኖችን ይከተላሉ በማለት፣ እንደዚሁም የኮመንዌልዝ አገሮች እንግሊዝን።

6.2 የኤርትራ ጉዳይ በዩናይትድ ኔሽን ጉባዔ

የ1948 እ.ኤ.አ. የዩናይትድ ኔሽን ጉባዔ ፓሪስ ላይ ተደርጎ ሁለተኛው ክፍል ኒዮርክ ላይ ተደረገ። ያራቶቹም መንግሥታት ሪፖርት ቀረበ። ጉባዔው አንዳንድ ንግግር ታደረገ በኋላ የኛን ፖዚሽን በሚገባ አስረዳሁ፤ በሙሉ ጉዳዩ በ1949 በሚደረገው ጉባዔ እንዲታይ ተወሰነ።

በዚህም ጉባዔ ጊዜያት የያንዳንዱን አገር አቋም ለማወቅ ቻልኩ። ተዚህ ቀጥሎ እንዳለው ነበር።

- የላቲን አሜሪካ ግሩፕ /በሙሉ የላቲን አሜሪካን አገሮች እንአርጀንቲን፤ ቺሊ፤ ቬንዝዌላ፤ ሜክሲኮ፤ ወዘተ.../ ሁሉም ካቶሊክ ስለሆኑ፤ የጣልያን ዘሮች ባንዳንዶች ብዙ ስላሉ በጳጳሱ /በሮማ/ ኢንፍሉወንስ ውስጥ ነበሩ። አሜሪካኖችም ጣልያንን ላለማስቀየም በነሱ ላይ ፕሬዠር አላደረጉም ነበር። ስለዚህ የላቲን አሜሪካን ግሩፕ በሙሉ ጣልያንን ይደግፉ ነበር።
- የአረቦች ግሩፕ /ግብጽ፤ ኢራክ፤ ኢራን፤ ሳውዲት አረብ፤ ሊባን፤ አማን/ በሃይማኖት ምክንያት ኤርትራ ተኢትዮጵያ ጋር ተምትቀላቀል ነጻ እንድትሆን ነበር የሚደግፉት።
- የእስያ ግሩፕ /ህንድ፤ ፓኪስታን፤ በርማ፤ ሴሉን/ በእስያ ኮሎኒ ሆነው ስለነበረ በፕሪንስፕል ነጻነት እንጂ ኢትዮጵያ እንድትቀላቀል አይደግፉም ነበር፡- ፓኪስታንም ዋና የስላም ፋናቲዝም ይዞት በጣም ተቃዋሚያችን ሆነ።
- የኮመንዌልዝ ሌሎች አገሮች እንደ አስትራሊያ፤ ኒውዘርላንድ፤ ካናዳ፤ ሳውዝ አፍሪካ /ተካናዳና ተኒውዚላንድ በቀር/ ተቃዋሚያችን ነበሩ።
- በአፍሪካ ተግብጽ በቀር ነጻ የሆን ላይቤሪያ ብቻ ነበረ። ላይቤሪያም ደጋፊያችን ነበር።
- አውሮፓ፡- የአራት መንግሥቶች ከላይ ተነግሯል። ሌሎቹ እንደ ቤልጅክ፤ ሆላንድ፤ ዴንማርክ፤ ሲዊድን፤ ኖርዌይ ያሉት ወይም እንግሊዝን ይከተላሉ ወይም ኒውትራል ነበሩ። እንግሊዝ ግን በነሱም ላይ ሆነ በኮመንዌልዝ አገሮች እንዳችም ፕሬዠር አላደረገ።

በዚህ አኳኋን ተአምሳ ሁለት መንግሥታት ወደ ዘጠና እጁ እኛን አይደግፉም ማለት ነው። የኤርትራና የባህር በር የማግኘታችን ጉዳይ፣ ለኛ ቫይታል የሆነው፣ ዩናይትድ ኔሽን ላይ በድምጽ ብልጫ እንደሚበላሽ ተረዳሁ።

6.3 በየአገሩ ያደረኩት ጉብኝትና ተየመንግሥታቱ ያደረግሁት ንግግር

ጉባዔው ተመክፈቱ በፊት ተገቢ በሆኑት አገሮች እየዞርኩ የኢትዮጵያን ጥያቄ ማስረዳት አስፈላጊ መሆኑን ለጃንሆይ ሀሳቡን አቅርቤ አሳቸውም በሙሉ ተስማሙበት። እኔም መጀመሪያ ግብጽን /ሕሱን ኮንቪንስ ታደረግሁ ሌሎቹ አረብ አገሮች ያን ጊዜ እሱን ስለሚከተሉ/ ሁለተኛ አውሮፓን፣ 3ኛም ላቲን አሜሪካ /ሁለት ድምፅ ያላቸውን/ እንደዚሁም የአራቱ መንግሥታት የውጭ ጉዳይ ሚኒስትሮች እንደገና በማነጋገር በተከታዮቻቸው ላይ አስፈላጊውን ፕሬዠር እንዲያደርጉ እቅድ አወጣሁ።

በዚህም ፕላን መሠረት ለያንዳንዱ የሚሰጠውን ማስታወሻና ዶኩሜንት፣ እንደፖለቲካቸው አመራር የሚነገራቸውን፣ አስፈላጊ ለሆኑትም ዲኮሬሽን እንዲሁም የጃንሆይን ደብዳቤና ፎቶግራፍ ይዤ ጉዞዬን ጀመርኩ። ተኔ ጋርም አቶ ተስፋዬ ተገኝ፣ ያን ጊዜ ፓሪስ ሚኒስትር የነበሩት፣ አቶ እምሩ ዘለቀ፣ የኔ ጸሐፊ የሆኑት ነበሩ።

መጀመሪያ ግብጽ ከንጉሥ ፋሩክ ጋር ተነጋገርኩ። እንዲሁም ተጃንሆይ የተሰጠውን መልእክትና የሰላምን ኮርዶን ሽልማት ሰጠሁ። ተውጭ ጉዳይ ሚንስትሩም ጋር እንድነጋገር ቀጠሮ ተደርጐ በረጅሙ የኛን ፖዚሽንና የጥያቄያችንን ምክንያት፣ ግብጽ ዓባይን እንደምትጠጣ ሁሉ እኛን መርዳት እንዳለባት፣ እንግሊዞችንም ሌሎቹንም አረብ አገሮች ምክሯን ሰጥቶ እንዲረዱን እንድታደርግ። በመጨረሻም ንጉሡም፣ መንግሥቱም ኢትዮጵያን ለመደገፍ ቃል ገብተው ትእዛዙንም ኒዮርክ ላለው ወኪላቸው ደፍውዚ /በኋላ የውጭ ጉዳይና ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትር የሆነው፣ በናስር ጊዜያት/ እንደሚያስተላልፉ ቃል ገቡልኝ።



ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትር አክሊሉ ሀብተወልድ የግብጹን ፕሬዚዳንት አንዋር ሳዳትን ሲቀበሉ።

አውሮፓ

ፈረንሳይ አገር መንግሥት ተለውጦ በቤዶ ሥፍራ መስዩ ሹማን የውጭ ጉዳይ ሚንስትር ሆኖ ነበር። እሱም ያስረዳሁትን ሁሉ ተሰማ በኋላ /የኢትዮጵያንና የፈረንሳይ የወዳጅነት ታሪክ ... ሁሉ ዘርዝሬ ነበርና፤ ደግሞም አሜሪካንና እንግሊዝ ሲደግፉን ፈረንሳይ፣ እኛ አገር ባቡር ያለው፣ እኛን አለመደገፉ የሚያስገርም መሆኑን ጭምር/ «የበፊቱን መንግሥት ፖሊሲ አልደግፍም፤ ስለኤርትራ ኢትዮጵያን እንደግፋለን፤ እኔው ራሴ ለጉባኤው ስለምሄድ እዚያው ታየዋህ» አሉ።

እንግሊዝ

ቤቪን ፖሊሲአቸውን አስመለወጣቸውን አረጋገጡልኝ፡፡ ግን በተከታዮቹ ላይ የሚያስፈልገውን ምክር እንዲሰጥ ጠይቄው፤ «እኛን አይሰሙንም፤ የተቻለኝን አደርጋለሁ» አለኝ፡፡ በኋላም ቤልጅክን፣ የእንግሊዝን ፖሊቲካ ነው የሚደግፍ፣ እንዲሁ አስረዳሁ፡፡

ተዚያም ተለንደን በቀጥታ ወደ ብራዚል /ላቲን አሜሪካን/ ተጓዝን፡፡ አውሮፕላኑ ትንሽ ስለነበረ /ዳኮታ ይመስለኛል/ ለመድረስ 30 ሰዓት ፈጀብን፡፡ ብዙ ችግርም ደርሶብን ከፕሬዚዳንቱ ስንገናኝ የሰላምን ኮርደንና የጃንሆይን መልእክት፣ እንዲሁም የጃንሆይን ፎቶግራፍ ሰጥቼ ጉዳዮችንን አስረዳሁ፡፡ ተውጭ ጉዳይ ሚኒስትር ጋር እንድንነጋገር ቀጠሮ ተደርጎ ተገናኘን፡፡ እሳቸውም ፈርናንዲዝ የሚባሉ፣ የ70 ዓመት አዛውንት፣ በፊት በሊግ ኦፍ ኔሽን ጊዜ የማውቃቸው ናቸው፡፡ በኋላም ዩናይትድ ኔሽን በየጊዜው እንገናኝ ነበር፡፡ በምን እንደመጣሁ ሲጠይቁኝ በአውሮፕላን ስላቸው ተገርመው፤ «ይህ እግዚአብሔርን ዲፋይ ማድረግ ነው፤ የሚገባ አውሮፕላን ሳይኖር እንዴት ተሎንዶን ጀምሮ እዚህ ድረስ በማይረባ አውሮፕላን ይመጣል? ኒዮርክ እንኳን ስሄድ በመርከብ ነው» አሉኝ፡፡

ለእሳቸውም የምኒልክ ኮርዶን ይገባ ነበርና እሱን መቼ እንደምሰጣቸው ጠየቅሁ፡፡ «ተራት ግብዣ፣ እዚያ ነው የምትሰጠኝ» አሉኝ፡፡ እንደዚህ መንገዱን ካሰናዳሁ በኋላ ንግግሩን ጀመርን፡፡ በሙሉ የጣልያን ደጋፊ መሆናቸውን ተረዳሁ፡፡ «ጣልያን ብዙ ሕዝብ አለው፤ እንደሌሎቹ ብዙ ኮሎኒ የለውም፤ ያላቸው ኤርትራና ሶማሌ ናቸው፤ ጣሊያኖች እንዳስረዱኝ በኤርትራ ብቻ 300,000 ጣልያኖች አሉ፡፡ እነኝህ ሁሉ የት ይሂዱ ማለትህ ነው?» ብለው ኮንቪክሽን መንፈስ ተናገሩ፡፡ እኔም የጣልያን ኢንሳይክሎፒዲያ እንዳላቸው ጠይቄ ስላመጡ፣ ኤርትራንና ሶማሌን የሚመለከተውን ገጽ እንክፈት ብዬ ከፈትን፡፡ እዚያም ላይ እስከ 1934 /እ.ኤ.አ./ በኤርትራ ታንድ ሺህ ጣልያን የበለጠ እንደሌለ እንደዚሁም በሶማሌ ተእራት መቶ የማይበልጥ መሆኑን መጽሐፉ ገልጦ ተገኘ፡፡ እሳቸውም ተገርመው፤ «ታዲያ

300,000ውን ተየት ነው ያመጡት?» አሉ። «እነኝህ ኢትዮጵያን ተወረሩ በኋላ ባምስቱ ዓመት ውስጥ የመጡት ወታደሮችና ሚስቶች፣ ሌላውም ለመኖር የመጡ ጣልያኖች፣ አሁን ወደ አገራቸው ለመመለስ በኤርትራ በየተራ መርከብ የሚጠብቁ የነበሩ ናቸው። አሁን ሁሉም ሄደዋል፤ ተ15ሺህ የሚበልጥ የለም» አልኩ። «እንዲያውም ኤርትራና ሱማሌ ደሃ አገር ስለሆኑ ለገለማ (settlement) አይሆኑም፤ ይህን ዘመን ሙሉ /60-70 ዓመት/ ጣልያኖች ሲገዙ ይሄው ተ400 ወይም 1000 የበለጠ ጣልያን ለማስፈር አልቻሉም። ዋናውም ምክንያት እነኚሁን አገሮች የያዙት ኢትዮጵያን በሚወሩበት ጊዜ መቆናጠሜ ለመያዝ ነው። ለዚሁም ማስረጃ ሞሬስ ራብ /ጣልያን/ የጻፈው መጽሐፍ፡ መቅድም ውስጥ ሞሶሉኒ የጻፈውን መቅድም ማንበብ ነው» አልኳቸው። አላየሁትም ሲሉም፣ ባጭሩ ቀጥሎ ያለውን ነገርኳቸው። «'ኤርትራንና ሱማሌን፣ በረሃ የሆኑትን አገሮች፣ ለምንድነው ጣልያን ይዛ ኪሣራ በየዓመቱ የምትገባው፤ ተባጀቷ ገንዘብ እያወጣች? ምንም ለማያመጡላት። ሌሎች አገሮች ፈረንሳይና እንግሊዝ ኮሎኒ ስላላቸው ለፕሬስቲጅ ነውን?' እያለ ዓለም ይጠይቅ ነበር። አሁን ምክንያቱን ልንገራችሁ። እነኝህ በረሃ የሆኑት አገሮች ላይ ገንዘባችንን እየከሰከስን የተቀመጥነው እነኝህ ሁለት አገሮች በጂኦግራፊም፣ በዘርም የኢትዮጵያ አካልና ኖርሉንጌሽን ስለሆኑ አንድ ቀን ይህን ሪችና ለምለም የሆነውን ኢትዮጵያን ለመያዝ በማሰብ ነበር፤ አሁን ይህ በፋሽስት ረጅም ጊዜ ተፈጸመ» የሚል ነበር። መጽሐፉ የተጻፈው ጣልያኖች ኢትዮጵያን ተያዙ በኋላ ነበር። ይህን ሁሉ ሲያዩ ፈርናዲዝ በጣም ተገረሙ። ተመንግሥቱ ጋር ተመካክሬ መልሱን እስታውቃለሁ ብለው በማግሥቱ ተተኩል ቀን በኋላ ተቃጠርን። በማግሥቱ ወደ ሰላሳ አምባሳደሮች፣ ናሲ አፓስቶሉክም ጭምር፣ ሌሎች ሚኒስትሮች ባሉበት ታላቅ የምሳ ግብዣ አደረጉልኝ። በቶስት ጊዜ ዲስኩር ሲያደርጉ፣ «ብልጅነቴ የአድዋ ዘመቻ ነበር። ተማሪ ቤት ሆኜ ተማሪዎች ወገን ለይተን እንጣላ ነበር። እኔ የምኒልክ ወገን ነበርኩ» ብለው ተናሩ /የምኒልክን ኒሻን ስጥቻቸው ለብሰው ነበር/። ይህም ተኩሉ ቀን በኋላ ለምንነጋገረው ምልክት ሰጠኝ።

በንግግሩም ጊዜያት «ጉዳዩ አሁን ገብቶናል። እኛ ላቲን አሜሪካኖች ተቅኝ ግዛት የወጣን ስለሆን ጀስቲስን ነው የምንደግፈው፤ አሁን እንደተረዳነው ጀስቲስ ለኢትዮጵያ ይገባታል። ስለዚህ ነው ኢትዮጵያን የምንደግፈው» ብለው ቃል ሰጡኝ። እኔም አመስግኜ ለወዳጅ አገሮች ሁሉ ይህንኑ እንዲያስረዱ ለምኜ ተለያየን።

ለመጎብኘት የታቀደው ዋናዎችን ቁልፍ የሆኑትን አገሮች ተጠንተው አምስቱን ነበር፦ ብራዚል፤ አርጀንቲን፤ ቺሊ፤ ቬንዝዌላ፤ ሚክሲኮ፤ ሌሎቹ እነሱን ይከተሉ ነበር።

አርጀንቲን ያን ጊዜ የነፐሮን [Juan Domingo Perón] ጣልያን ሬጅም ነበር። በመንግሥቱ የሚበልጠው ጣልያኖች ስለነበሩ፣ ተቀብሉ ለማነጋገርም ስላልፈቀዱ አንድ ቀን አድረን ወደ ቺሊ ሄድን።

ቺሊ ደህና ተቀበሉን። በደረስን ማግሥት መንግሥቱ ተገልብጦ ሌላው እስቲቋቋም ቆየን። ተዚያም በኋላ ለፕሬዚዳንቱና ለውጭ ጉዳይ ሚኒስትሩ ተገቢውን ሽልማትና መልክት ተሰጠሁ በኋላ ብራዚል በተነጋገርኩበት አኳኋን አስረዳሁ። እነሱም ለመደገፍ ቃል ሰጡ።

ከፔሩ፤ ቬንዝዌላና ሚክሲኮ ብራዚል በተደረገው አኳኋን ንግግሩ ተደረገ፤ አቀባበላቸውም ደህና ነበር። ለመደገፍ ቃላቸውን ሰጡ። ሁሉም ያሉኝ፤ «የኢትዮጵያ ሰው መጀመሪያ ጊዜ ነው አገራችን የመጣው። አሁን ገብቶናል፤ ኤምባሲ እየከፈታችሁ ሁልጊዜ ኮንታክት ማድረግ ጠቃሚ ነው።» በጉብኝት ጊዜያት የተወሰደው ፎተግራፎች፤ የጃንሆይ ደብዳቤ ኮፒ፣ ሌላም ይህን መሰል አርካይቭ ውስጥ ይገኛል። ተዚያም በመለስ ዋሽንግተን ደርሼ ተአሜሪካን የውጭ ጉዳይ ሚኒስትር ዤ. ሙስተር አቼሰን ጋር በረጅሙ ተነጋገርን — የላቲን አሜሪካን ጉዞና የተሰጠውን ቃል፤ አሜሪካኖችም ርዳታቸውን እንዲቀጥሉ። በጣም ድካም ላይ ስለነበርኩ ዶክተርስ ሆስፒታል ገባሁ።



ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትር እክሊሉ ቀዳማዊ ኃይለ ሥላሴ የልደት በዓላቸውን ሲያከብሩ አብረው የተነሱት ፎቶግራፍ፡፡

ታምስት ቀን በኋላ ወደ እንግሊዝ አገር ሄጀ ለሚስተር ቤቪን ሁሉንም አስረዳሁ፡፡ ተኔ ጋር የነበሩት አቶ ተስፋዬ ተገኝ በጣም ድካም ላይ ስለነበሩ ተሁለት ወር በኋላ ሞቱ፡፡ አዲስ አበባ እንደገባሁ ለጃንሆይ ራፖሬን አቅርቤ በቶሎ በብራዚል፣ በቬንዝዌላና በሜክሲኮ ኤምባሲ እንዲከፈት ሃሳብ አቅርቤ በዚሁ ተፈጸመ፡፡

6.4 በዩናይትድ ኔሽን የተደረገው ዲቤት /1948—1950/

እዚህ ባጭሩ ነው የምዘረዝረው፤ ሁሉንም ለማየት ዶኩሜንቱን፣ ፕሮሲቬርባሉን፣ በዩናይትድ ኔሽን የተደረገውን ዲስኩሩን ሁሉ /ታምስት ሙቶ ገጽ የማያንስ/፣ ሚሞራንደሙን ማየት ያስፈልጋል፤ ሁሉም አለ።

ሀ/ በ1948 የተደረገው ላይ ተነግሯል /ዶኩሜንቱን ማየት/።
የኤርትራ ጉዳይ በ1949 ለሚደረገው ጉባኤ ፖስትፖንድ ሆነ።

ለ/ በ1949 እላይ እንደተዘረዘረው አስፈላጊ የሆኑትን አገሮች ሁሉ እየዞርኩ የኢትዮጵያን ጥያቄ ሁሉ አስረድቼ ነበር፤ ጉባዔው ሥራውን ተመጀመሩ በፊት።

- *የቬቨንና የስፎርጎ ፕላን የተባለው*

የእንግሊዝ የውጭ ጉዳይ ሚኒስትርና የጣልያን የውጭ ጉዳይ ሚኒስትር በመንግሥታቸውና በወገኖቻቸው ስም ስለጣልያን ቅኝ አገሮች ውሳኔ አንድ ፕላን አቀረቡ፤ ባጭሩ ቀጥሎ እንዳለው ነበር።

ሀ/ ሊቢያን እንግሊዝ፣ ፈረንሳይ፣ ጣልያን፣ ተከፋፍለው በሞግዚትነት ለአስር ዓመት እንዲያስተዳድሩ፤

ለ/ ኤርትራ ተአቆርዳት በስተቀር ለኢትዮጵያ እንዲሰጥ፤

ሐ/ ሱማሌን ጣልያን በሞግዚትነት ላስር ዓመት እንዲያስተዳድር።

በክርክሩ ጊዜያት /በፖለቲካ ኮሚሲዮን/ አቆርዳትም ተሌላው ተኤርትራ ክፍል ጋር ለኢትዮጵያ እንዲሰጥ በፈረንሳይ በኩል /ያን ጊዜ ኩቭ ደሞርቪል ነበረ/ ሃሳብ ስለአቀረብኩ አሜሪካኑም፣ እንግሊዞችም፣ ተከታዮቻቸውም ተቃወሙት። በድምጽ ወደቀ፤ ሌላው ፕላን በሙሉ የድምጽ **ብልጫ አገኘ**፤ ተዚህም በኋላ ሬዞሊሽን ለዋናው ጉባዔ ቀረበ፤ አንቀጽ በአንቀጽ ድምጽ እንዲሰጥ ስለተጠየቀ በዚሁ አኳኋን ድምጽ መስጠት ተጀመረ። ኤርትራ ለኛ እንዲመለስ ታስፈላጊው ድምጽ በላይ (2/3) ተገኘ፤ ለፈረንሳይና እንግሊዝ አሊቢያ ክፍል 2/3 ድምጽ አገኘ፤ የጣልያን ግን በሱማሌ ሲያገኝ በሊቢያ አላገኘም። ተዚህ በኋላ

በሬዞሊሽኑ በጠቅላላው ቮት ሲደረግ ፈረንሳይና የላቲን መንግሥት አገሮች /በፈረንሳይ ተመርተው/፣ «ጣልያን ታላገኙት ማገንም አያገኙ፤ ሁሉም የተያያዘ ነው፤ ግን በኢትዮጵያ ላይ ቮት አላደረግንም፤ እሷ ከሚያስፈልገው በላይ ድምጽ አግኝታለች፤ ግን ሬዞሊሽኑ የተያያዘና አንድ አካል ነው። እናገዞናለን» ብለው፣ ዲሞክራሲዎን አደረጉ። ድምጽ ተተሰጠም በኋላ ሬዞሊሽኑ ማጆሪቲ እንጂ ተሦስቱ ሁሉቱን እጅ አላገኘም። በዚህ ምክንያት ፕላኑ ወደቀ፤ የኤርትራም ጉዳይ ሳያልቅ ቆየ።

በኋላም ዲቤት ቀጠለ። በኮሚስዮን ውስጥ ሁለተኛ የኤርትራ ሕዝብ ወኪሎች የተባሉት ተጠርተው ነበር፤ ከልዩ ልዩ ፓርቲ ነበሩ። የነጻነት ፓርቲ፣ በዩናይትድ ኔሽን ሞግዚትነት እንተዳደር የሚሉ፣ በእንግሊዝ ... መሪዎቻቸውም እነ ወልደአብ፣ ኢብራሂም፣ ሱልጣን። እነሱም ሲደመሩ በመቶ ስልሳ የኤርትራን ሕዝብ ወክለናል እያሉ ዲሞክራሲዎን ሲያደርጉ ጉባዔው ኢምፕሬስ መሆኑ አልቀረም፤ እኛን የሚደግፍ አንድ ፓርቲ ብቻ ነበር። ይኸውም የዩኒየን ፓርቲ በዋናው ጸሐፊ በተድላ ባህሩ ይመራ ነበር /በአራቱ ኮሚስዮን ሪፖርት ውስጥ ይህ ፓርቲ ከ30-40 በመቶ ብቻ ነው የኤርትራን ሕዝብ የሚወክለው ተብሎ ነበር የቀረበው/።

እኛን የሚቃወሙት ፓርቲዎች ተጣልያን ጋር ተስልፈው፣ ጉን ለጉን ተቀምጠው፣ እኛን ሲቃወሙ ማየቱ በጣም ያሳዝነኝ ነበር። በየተራ ሁሉም ዲስኩራቸውን አደረጉ። ተዚያም በኋላ ደንቡ እንደሚሰጠኝ ልዩ ልዩ ጥያቄ እያቀረብኩ በጉባዔው ላይ የፈጠሩትን ኢምፕሬሺን በከፊል አፈረስኩት። ለምሳሌ፣ ወልደአብ የኢንቴሌክቹአል ፓርቲ /Intellectual Party/ መሪ ነኝ ብሎ ነው ዲስኩሩን ያደረገው፤ አምስት ስድስት መልክተኞች ይሆኑ ነበር። ለጉባዔው ይህ ኢንተለጀንሲያ /የተማሩት ክፍል/ ሁሉ ኢትዮጵያን የሚቃወሙ መስሎ ነው የሚታየው፤ ሁለት ጥያቄ አቀረብኩለት።

«ስንት ሰው አለበት፣ ያንተ ፓርቲ?»

መልስ፦ «ተመቶ እስከ ሁለት መቶ አምሳ።»

«ተንኘህ መካከል ተነስማቸው ስንት ለማትሪኩሌሽን ወይም ሌላ ዲግሪ ያላቸውን ዝርዝር ለመስጠት ትችላለህን?» መልስ፡- «ምንም የለ። እንዴት ኢትዮጵያ የውጭ ጉዳይ ሚኒስትር ይህን ይጠይቀኛል? በቅኝ አገዛዝ በጣልያን ተይዘን መቼ እስተማሩን?!» /መልክተኞች ሁሉ ሳቁ/።

እኔም፣ «ይህን መቼ አጣሁት፣ አንተ የቀረብከው የኢንቴሌክቹአል ፓርቲ ብለህ ስለሆን፣ እውነት የተማሩት ፓርቲ እንዳልሆንክ ጉባኤው እንዲያውቀው ነው። ጣልያኖች አንድም ኤርትራዊ ያስተማሩት የለም፣ ያስተማረቻቸው ኢትዮጵያ ናት። ለምሳሌ፣ እኔ ጎን ያሉት ኤርትራዎች እነ ብላታ ዳዊት፣ አቶ ገብረመስቀል እና ሌሎቹም የሌሉ በብዙ መቶ የሚቆጠሩ እያመሰጡ እየመጡ እኛ ያስተማርናቸው ናቸው» አልኩ።

ኢብራሂም ሱልጣን፣ የሙዝሊም ሊግ አለቃ፣ ዲስኩሩን ሲያደርግ፣

ሀ/ ኤርትራ መቼም ቢሆን ተኢትዮጵያ ጋር ሆና አታውቅም፣
ለ/ በየአውራጃው እየዘረዘረ 300,000፣ 500,000፣ 700,000 ... ህዝብ የኛ ፓርቲ ነው።

ጥያቄዬን ቀጠልኩ።

ኤርትራ ተኢትዮጵያ ጋር አብራ ሆናም አታውቅ ብለሀል። እንዲህ ተሆን በሁለቱ አገር መካከል ጠረፍ በየት ነበር የሚያልፈው፣ ጣልያን ተመምጣቱ በፊት?

መልስ፡- አላውቅም /ሳቅ/።

ከየአውራጃው ያለህን ደጋፊ የህዝብ ቁጥር ሰጥተሃል። ድምሩ ስንት ነው? ተደምሮ 3 ሚሊዮን ሆነ። «የኤርትራ ሕዝብ ቁጥር ስንት ነው?» ብዬ ጠየቅሁ።

መልስ፡- «አላውቅም። እንግሊዞችን ጠይቃ!» እኔም ታንድ ሚሊዮን አይበልጥም አልሁ፣ ሁሉም ሳቀ።

በክርክሩ ጊዜ መስኮብ አንድ ሪዞሊሽን አቀረበ። እሱም አሰብ ብቻ ለኢትዮጵያ ተሰጥቶ ሌላው ነጻ ይሁን የሚል። ብዙ መንግሥቶች

በነጻነት ላይ አጌንስት ኾት ማድረግ እንችልም አሉ፤ አረቦችም ጭምር፡፡ በጣም ተቸገርኩ፡፡ ይህንን በተቀበልኩ ጊዜያት ኤርትራን መቼም አናገኝ፡፡ የተቃወምኩ ጊዜያትም አሰብንም፤ ሁሉንም ልናጣ እንችላለን፡፡

ወዲያውኑ ጠንካራ የሆነ ዲስኩር አደረግሁ፡፡ «የመስኮብ ሬፐብሊሽን የፒስ ኮንፍረንስን እንቀጽ የሚቃወም ነው /ሰላምን፤ ጸጥታን መሠረት በማድረግ ጥቅም ያላቸውን መንግሥቶች ሃሳብ ኮንሲደሬሽን ተወሰደ/፡፡ «ይህ አገር ለኢትዮጵያ መውረሪያ ቤዝ እንደነበረ መስኮብ ያውቃል፡፡ አሁንም ኤርትራ ነጻ መሆን አትችልም፤ የሌላ መንግሥት መግሪያ ሆና እኛን ለማጥቃት እንዲሆን ታልሆነ በቀር፡፡ ስለዚህ ይህን ሐሳብ የሚደግፍ የሰላም ጠላት፤ የኢትዮጵያም ጠላት ነው ብለን ነው የምንቆጥረው፡፡ ድምጽ ሲሰጥም፤ ስም እየተጠራ ይደረግልኝ» ብየ ጠየቅሁ፡፡ የመስኮብም ተወካይ፤ «ሕዝቡ ተኢትዮጵያ ጋር ነው ብለህል፡፡ እንዲህ ተሆነ፤ ነጻ ተሆነ በኋላ ራሱ ይቀላቀል የለም ወይ! ምን አስፈራህ?» አለኝ፡፡ እኔም «ኢስቶኒያን፤ ሉቱኒያን የያገጮቸው ሕዝብ ከመስኮብ ጋር መቀላቀል ይፈልጋል ብለህ ነው? ለነሱ የፈቀድክላቸውን ለምን ለኤርትራ ሕዝብ ትነፍጋለህ? እስቲ እነሱን አሁን ነጻነታቸውን ስጣቸውና በኋላ ተመስኮብ ጋር ይቀላቀሉ? አንድን ልጅ በእግርህ ሂድ ታልከው በኋላ ራስህን ግደል ብትለው እሽ አይልም» አልኩት /አሜሪካኖችና እንግሊዞች ሊሉቹም የመስኮብ ተቃዋሚዎች ከት ብለው ሳቁ/፡፡ የመስኮብም መልክተኛ ተቆጥቶ ወደ ውጭ ወጣ፡፡

በዚህም ጊዜ የግብጹን መልክተኛ ፋውዚን እንዲሁም የየመንን እውጭ እየወሰድኩ አነጋገርኳቸው፡፡ ፋውዚንን «ለነጻነት ኾት አደርጋለሁ ብለህ የተናገርከው ተመንግሥትህ ተፈቅዶልህ ነውን? እኔ ተዚያ ነው የመጣሁት፡፡ ንጉሡም፤ መንግሥቱም እኛን ለመደገፍ ቃል ሰጥተውኛል፤ አሁን ደውለህ ጠይቅ፡፡ እለዚያ አንተ አላፊ ነህ» ስለው አበደ፡፡ የየመንን «አዲስ አበባ ወደ 20,000 የሚሆኑ ያንተ ዜጎች አሉ፤ መስኮብን ደግፊህ ድምጽ የሰጠህ እንደሆነ አሁኑኑ ቴሌግራም ልኬ ዜጎችህን አስወጣቸዋለሁ» አልኩት፡፡ ሌሎችንም በየመልኩ አነጋገርኩ፡፡

በኋላም ዲቤት ተከፍቶ ክርክሩ ቀጠለ፤ ሌላ አንድ ሬዞሊሽን ቀረበ፡፡ ይኸውም፤ «እስታሁን ድረስ ዩናይትድ ኔሽን ኮሚስዮን ልኮ

በኤርትራ የሕዝቡን ሃሳብ አልጠየቀም /ሕስታሁን የሄዱት ያራቱ መንግሥታት ብቻ ናቸው/። አሁንም ያምስት መንግሥት መልክተኞች በዩናይትድ ኔሽን ስም ሄደው የህዝቡን ሃሳብ ይጠይቁ» የሚል ነበር። ግብጽ ይህንን ምክንያት አድርጎ መስከብን ሃሳቡን ዊዝድሮው እንዲአደርግ ጠየቀው። እሱም እምቢ አለ። የግብጹ ተወካይ እንግዲያውስ በሃሳቡ ላይ ተቃውሜ ነው ድምጽ የምሰጠው አለ፤ ሌሎች አረቦች ይህንኑ ተከትለው አስታወቁ። ሌሎች መንግሥታቶችም ፕራይወሪቲ ለኮሚሽዮኑ መላክ ሃሳብ ይሰጠው፤ ያንተ ይቆይ ቢሉት መስኮብ አልቀበልም አለ። በኋላም ድምጽ ተሰጠ። መስከብን የደገፈ 3 ድምጽ ብቻ ስለሆነ ሃሳቡ ወደቀ።

6.5 ወደ ኤርትራ የሚሄደው የዩናይትድ ኔሽን ኮሚስዮን አመራረጥና አባሎች

ለኮሚስዮኑ አባል እንዲሆኑ የተመረጡት አገሮች /ይህም በታላላቅ መንግሥታቶችና በወገኖቻቸው ነው/ ሳውዝ አፍሪካ፣ ፓኪስታን፣ ጓቲማላ፣ በርማና ኖርዌይ ነበሩ። ይህም ሃሳብ በሬዞሊሽን ጉባዔው ፊት በቀረበ ጊዜ በብርቱ ተከራከርኩ። «ሳውዝ አፍሪካና ፓኪስታን በኢትዮጵያ ላይ በዲስኩራቸው ፖዚሽን የወሰዱ ናቸው። የኢትዮጵያ ጠላትነታቸውን በግልጽ ያስታወቁ ናቸው። ጓቲማላም እንዲሁ የጣልያን ጠበቃ መሆኑን አሳይቷል። ተሁለቱ፣ በርማና ኖርዌይ፣ ኒውትራል ተሆኑት በቀር ሦስቱ አሁኑኑ ፕራየር ዲስሽን ያደረጉ ናቸው። የዚህ የዚህ ለምን ጣልያንን አታደርጉትም?» አልኩት። እነሱም ተቃወሙ። አንድ ጊዜ ታላላቆች መንግሥታቶች ተስማምተውባቸዋልና ምንም ማድረግ አልተቻለም። በመጨረሻም በድምጽ ብልጫ እነሱ እንዲሆኑ ተወሰነ።

ቢሆንም ይህንን ሁኔታ ለማሻሻል ታምስቱ መንግሥቶች ጋር ይልቁንም ተሳውዝ አፍሪካ፣ ጓቲማላ፣ ፓኪስታንና በርማ ጋር ንግግር ጀመርኩ። ለያንዳንዱ መንግሥት በሚገባው ሃሳብና በሚቀበለው መንገድ በረጅሙ የኛን ሁናቴ አስረዳ ነበር። ተሳውዝ አፍሪካ ጋር ያደረግሁት ኢንተረስቲንግ ነበር፤ ዝርዝሩ ብዙ ነው። ለፓኪስታን፣

«አንተ እንደምትለው በኢትዮጵያ እስላሞችን እንደአብድ ውሻ እንፈጃቸውም፣ ሄደህ እንድታይ እለምንሃለሁ። ንግዱና ኢኮኖሚው ሁሉ በነሱ መያዙን ታያለህ። በታሪክም መሐመድ ስለኢትዮጵያ ያለውን አስታውስ» አልኩት። እንደዚሁም የንቲማላንና የበርማን አስረዳኋቸው። በርማ አሁን ነጻ የሆነ አገር ስለሆነ ያለ ነጻነት ሌላ ሃሳብ የለውም ነበር። ለኤርትራ ነጻነቷ ተኢትዮጵያ መቀላቀል ነው በማለት፣ በልዩ ልዩ ዘዴ ግብዣ ጭምር፣ ወደ ኤርትራ ተመሄዳቸው በፊት የተቻለውን ያህል አለስልሻቸው ነበር።

6.5.1 ኮሚሲዮኑ ጉብኝት በየአገሩ /ኤርትራ፣ ኢትዮጵያ፣ ሱማሌና ግብጽ

ኤርትራን ጎብኝተው ወደ አዲስ አበባ ሲመጡ ስብሰባ በራስ ሆቴል ተደርጐ ነበር። ስልሳ ገጽ የሚሆን የኤርትራን ታሪክ፣ የኢትዮጵያ አካል መሆኗንና እንደምን ጣልያን እንደያዛት፣ ብዙ ጊዜ ኢትዮጵያን መውረሪያ እንደሆነች፣ የሕዝቡን ሃሳብ እውነተኛውን /በእንግሊዝ አድሚኒስትሬሽን ሆኖ እውነተኛ ሃሳቡን ለመስጠት ስላልቻለ/ የዘረዘረ ንግግር አደረግሁ። በመጨረሻም ልዩ ልዩ ጥያቄ አቀረቡልኝ፣ በሚገባ መለስኩ። ዲስኩሩንም፣ ጥያቄውን ሁሉ ከፕሮሲቬርባሉን ማየት ይቻላል። /በዚያን ጊዜም በድካም ብዛት በየጊዜው እታመም ነበር፣ እሆቴሉም ሃኪም ይጠባበቅ ነበር።/ ኮሚሲዮኑም የእስላሞችን ሁኔታ አዲስ አበባ ብቻ ሳይሆን በሌላም ክፍል ሄዶ እንዲያይ አድርገን ጎንደር፣ ሐረር ሄዱ። ብዙ ግብዣም፣ እስላሞች የነበሩበት፣ ተደርጎላቸው ነበር። ፓኪስታኑ በጣም ተደንቀ፣ «የሚያወሩልን ሁሉ ውሸት ነው» አለኝ።

ኮሚሲዮኑ ሱማሌንና ግብጽን ጎብኝቶ /ግብጽን የጎበኘው ምጽዋን ጠይቃ ስለነበረ ይሆናል/ ወደ ዩናይትድ ኔሽን ተመልሶ ራፖር አሰናዱ።

ራፖሩ ታትሞ ለዩናይትድ ኔሽን ቀረበ። ፍሬ ነገሩም ቀጥሎ እንዳለው ነው /ራፖሩን ማየት/።

ሀ/ ሳውዝ አፍሪካና በርማ ኤርትራ ተኢትዮጵያ ጋር በፌዴሬሽን እንድትቀላቀል፣

ለ/ ፓኪስታንና ጓቲማላ ኤርትራ ነጻ እንድትሆን፤
ሐ/ ኖርዌይ፤ ኤርትራ ያለ ኮንዲሽን ተኢትዮጵያ ጋር እንድትቀላቀል።

በዚህ አካኋኋን ታንድ አገር በቀር (ኖርዌይ) የኛን ጥያቄ ሙሉ በሙሉ የሚደግፍ አልነበረም። ሁለቱ ፌዴሬሽን (እውነተኛውን)፤ ሁለቱ ነጻነት እንደመቀላቀልን።

የአሜሪካንን፤ የእንግሊዝን ሃሳብ በብዙ መንገድ እየጠየቅን ተነሱም ጋር እየተመላለስኩ ተነጋገርን። እነሱም ፌዴሬሽን እንዲሆን የሚደግፉ መሆኑን አስረዱ። ይኸውም ኢትዮጵያን ለመደገፍ መሆኑንም አሳወቁ። ተኮሚሲዮኑ ራፖር በኋላ እንዲሁ የመቀላቀልን ሃሳብ ከጉባዔው የሚበልጡት መንግሥቶች እንደሚቃወሙት አስረዱ /አረቦች፤ ላቲን አሜሪካኖች፤ እዚያም ኮመንወልዝ/።

ይህን ጉዳይና ሌላም ለማጥናት ትንሹ ጉባዔ የተባለ የመንግስቶች ሁሉ ወኪሎች ያሉበት ሲሠራ ቆይቶ፤ ለ1950 ጉባዔ ሃሳብ እንዲያቀርብ በ1949 ተወስኖ ስለነበረ ኒዮርክ ሄጄ ስባት ወር ስከራከር ቆየሁ።

ተመሄዴም በፊት ማድረግ የሚገባኝን ተጃንሆይና ተሚኒስትሮቹም ጋር ምክክር ተደርጎ ኢንስትራክሽን ተቀብዬ ነበር። ተሄድኩም በኋላ ለሚደረገው ሁሉ ቴሌግራም በየጊዜው አዲስ አበባ እየላክሁ ትእዛዝና ኢንስትራክሽን እቀበል ነበር። ይህ ሁሉ ቴሌግራም አርካይቭ ይገኛል። እኔም የብዙው ኮፒ አለኝ።

ወደ ኒዮርክም ስሔድ በፓሪስ፤ ሎንዶን፤ ዋሽንግተን አልፌ ተመንግሥቶቹ ባለሥልጣኖች ጋር በሰፊው ተነጋገርኩ። ሎንዶን አምባሳደሩ አቶ አበበ ረታ ነበር። በንግግሩም ጊዜ ተገኝቷል። ባጭሩ ያስረዳሁት፤ «ፌዴሬሽን እንቀበልም፤ አንድነት እንጂ። ያልሆን እንደሁ፤ እውነተኛ ፌዴሬሽን /እንደ አሜሪካን አይነት ሁለት መንግሥት፤ ሁለት ፓርላማ፤ ሁለት ባንዲራ፤ ሁለት ካፒታል፤ ደግሞ ሦስተኛ ፌዴራል መንግሥት፤ ፌዴራል ፓርላማ፤ ፌዴራል ባንዲራ ልንቀበል አንችልም። ባንድ በኩል ፌዴራል ካፒታል፤ ኤርትራ አንድ ጠቅላይ ግዛት፤ በሌላ በኩል ኢትዮጵያ አሥራ ሁለት ጠቅላይ ግዛት

ያላት፣ እንዴት እኩል ተቆጥረው? ለማድረግም አይቻልም። ሕገ-መንግሥቱም የኤርትራ፣ የኢትዮጵያ፣ የፌዴራል፣ ሦስት ሕገ-መንግሥት አንቀበልም። ለኢትዮጵያም፣ ለኤርትራም አሁን ያለው የኢትዮጵያ ሕገ-መንግሥት ነው የሚረጋው፣ ቢበዛ ቢበዛ ለኤርትራ የምንቀበለው እኩል አድሚኒስትሬሽን ነው። ቢበዛ፣ እንደ ስኮትላንድ ዓይነት። ወይም ሎሬን፣ የፈረንሳይ ክፍል የነበረው፣ በጀርመን ብዙ ጊዜ ተይዞ ተታላቁ ጦርነት /1914—1918/ በኋላ ወደ ፈረንሳይ ሲመለስ በዚህ አኳኋን ነው» በማለት ነበር ያስረዳሁት።



ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትር አክሊሉ ሀብተወልድ ከተባበሩት መንግሥታት ዋና ጸሐፊ ኡ ታንት ጋር ሲወያዩ።

ትንሹ ጉባኤ /Little Assembly/ ስባት ወር በክርክር ኒውዮርክ ቆየሁ። የክርክሩ ሁኔቱ፣ በየጊዜው የላኩትና የተቀበልኩት የትእዛዝ ቴሌግራም አለ። ወደኒዮርክ ተመሄዴ በፊት ፓሪስ ሃኪሞች አይተውኝ፣ «ታመሃልና ሆስፒታል ገብተህ ኦፕሬሽን ማድረግ አለብህ» ብለውኝ ነበር። እኔም «ያገር ጉዳይ ስላለ አልችልም» አልኳቸው። እነሱም «አውሮፕላን ላይም አደጋ ሊደርስብህ ይችላል» ብለውኝ ነበር። ዝም ብዬ ሄድኩ። ጉባዔውንና የኤርትራን ጉዳይ ጨርሼ ስመለስ የፓሪስ ሃኪሞች ያሳሰቡኝን ኦፕሬሽኑን አደረገሁ።

በዚህ በጉባዔ ጊዜ አንድ አክት ፌዴራሉን ወይም ዩናይትድ ኔሽን የሚያሳልፈውን ሪዞሊሽን የሚያሰናዳ፣ ስለኤርትራ፣ አንድ ኮሚቴ ተቋቁሞ ነበር፤ እንብራዚል ያሉበት። ብዙ ክርክርም ነበር። ጣልያኖችና ወገኖቻቸው የጣልያንን ጥያቄ እየደገፉ፣ አሜሪካኖችና እንግሊዞች ደግሞ የኛን ጠንካራ አቋም ስላዩ እኛ ለመቀበል የምንችለውን ለማድረግ ሠርተው ነበር። በዚህ ጊዜ ተሁሉም መንግሥታት ወኪሎች ጋር በረጅሙ መነጋገሬን አሳቋረጥኩም፤ ከሕንዶች፣ ፓኪስታንና ላቲን አሜሪካን። በመጨረሻም አንድ የሪዞሊሽን ሃሳብ፤ ስሙ ፌዴሬሽን ይሁን እንጂ ለኤርትራ ሎካል ኦቶኖሚ የሚሰጥ፣ ሌላውን ሁሉ /ፖርት፣ ባቡር/ በኢትዮጵያ መንግሥት ሥልጣን ሥር የሚያደርግ ቀረበ። የኢትዮጵያ ሕገ-መንግሥት ለኤርትራም እንዲሆን የሚል አሠናድተው ለ1950 ጉባዔ ለማቅረብ አቀዱ።

6.6 የ1950 ጉባዔና የኤርትራ ጉዳይ ፍጻሜ ማግኘት

ጉባዔው ላይ የተደረገው ዲቤት ብዙ ዝርዝር ስላለው ፕሮሲቬርባሉን፣ ያደረኩትን ዲስኩርና ኢንተርቬንሽን ማየት አስፈላጊ ነው። እዚህ የማስታውሰውን ያህል ባጭሩ እጠቃልላለሁ።

ጉባዔው እንደተከፈተ ጣልያኖች ታክቲካቸውን ለወጡ። ጥያቄያቸው የሚፈጸም መሆኑን ሲያውቁት ለጣልያን ኮሎኒ ሁሉ ነጻነት ይሰጥ ብለው ሃሳብ አቀረቡ፤ የነጻነት ሻምፒዎን ሆኑ።

የኤርትራን ሕዝብ ወክለናል እያሉ እየመጡ ለጉባዔው ሃሳባቸውን እንዲሰጡ የተፈቀደላቸው ፓርቲዎች አላማቸው የተለያየ ነበር — ጣልያን ያስተዳድረን፣ እንግሊዝ ያስተዳድረን፣ ዮናይትድ ኔሽን ያስተዳድረን፣ ነጻነት የሚሉ ሆኖ ነበር። ኒዮርክ ሲደርሱ ምክር አላማቸውን አንድ አድርገው፣ ሁሉም ነጻነትን ነው የምንፈልገው ብለው አስታውቀው፣ ብሎክ ኢንዲፔንዳንስ የሚል አንድ ፓርቲ መሆናቸውን አስታወቁ። እንደዚህም ሲሆን በአራቶች መንግሥታት ሪፖርት መሠረት ኢትዮጵያን የሚደግፈው ቢበዛ በመቶ አርባ ብቻ ነው ስለተባለ፣ የዩናይትድ ኮሚሽንም ተሞላ ጉደል ይህንኑ ሃሳብ ስለሚደግፍ፣ ተኤርትራ ሕዝብ በመቶ ስልሣው ነጻነት ስለጠየቀ ለኛ አደገኛ ሆኖ ተገኝቶ ነበር።

ለጣልያን ማስታወቂያ፣ «ለኤርትራ ነጻነቷ ተኢትዮጵያ መቀሳቀል ብቻ ነው» ብዬ አስረዳሁ። ኒዮርክ ሲደርሱ አንድ ግንባር አቋቁመው፣ በመቶ 60 የሆነው ነጻነቷን ነው የምንጠይቀው ሳሉት ወኪሎች ዲስኩራቸውን ታደረጉ በኋላ ልዩ ልዩ ጥያቄ አደረግሁላቸው፤ አንዱም ይህ ነበር። «ተኤርትራ ስትነሱ ተወከላችሁ ሕዝብ የተቀበላችሁት ማንዴትና ኢንስትራክሽን ልዩ ልዩ ነበር /ጣልያን፣ እንግሊዝን፣ ዩናይትድ ኔሽንን እንዲያስተዳድራችሁ ለመጠየቅ/። እዚህ ስትደርሱ የወከላችሁን ሕዝብ ሳትጠይቁ እንዴት በራሳችሁ የፈጠራችሁትን ሃሳብ የወከለን ሕዝብ ሃሳብ ነው ለማለት ትችላላችሁ? ይህን ሃሳብ የጸነሳችሁት እዚህ ስትመጡ፣ ሁላችሁም ሮማ ቆይታችሁ ስለነበረ፣ ተጣልያን ጋር በመመካከር አይደለምን?» በዚህ ጊዜ ጣልያኖች የድንጋጤ መልክ ይታይባቸው ነበር። ወኪሎቹም ተቸግረው፣ ሕዝቡን በቴሌግራም ጠይቀናል አሉ። ቴሌግራሙን አሳዩ አልኳቸው፤ አለመኖሩ ተረጋገጠ። በዚህ አኳኋን ጉባዔው ይህ ሁሉ የጣልያን ፋብሪካሲዎን መሆኑን ተረዳው።

በቀረበው ሪዞሊሽን ላይ ክርክሩ ቀጥሎ ሪዞሊሽኑ፣ ፌዴሬል አክቱን የያዘ፣ በብዙ ድምጽ አለፈ /ታህሣሥ 1950 ዶክሜንቱን ማየት። ይህም ሪዞሊሽን ቀጥሎ ያሉትን ዋና ዋና ጉዳዮች ይዘረዝራል።

ሀ/ መቅድም፦ የሕዝቡን ሃሳብ፤ ሰላምንና ጸጥታን፤ የኤርትራን ጂኦግራፊያዊ አቀማመጥና ኢኮኖሚዋን፤ ኢትዮጵያ የባሕር በር እንዲኖራት አስፈላጊ መሆኑን በመረዳት፤ ይህን ሁሉ መሠረት በማድረግ ቀጥሎ ያለውን ሪዞሊሽን አሳልፈናል።

ለ/ ኤርትራ፦ አንድ ዩኒት ሆና ተኢትዮጵያ ጋር በፌዴራል እንድትቀላቀል። የሊባኖስ መልክተኛ ዩኒት መባሉ ቀርቶ ስቴት ይባል ብሎ ሃሳብ ሲያቀርብ በብርቱ ተቃውሜ ሃሳቡ ፈረሰ።

ሐ/ የኢትዮጵያ መንግሥት ስልጣንን ይዘረዝራል። ፖርት፤ ባቡር፤ መከላከያ፤ የውጭ ጉዳይ፤ መገናኛ፤ ሌላም ... ፤

መ/ የኤርትራ የውስጥ መንግሥት ስልጣን፤ የውስጥ አስተዳደር፤

ሠ/ የኤርትራን የውስጥ አስተዳደር ሕግ (ኮንስቲቲዩሽን)፤

ረ/ የዩናይትድ ኔሽን ኮሚሽን እንዲሾም፤ ሥራውም የኢትዮጵያን መንግሥትና የኤርትራን ሕዝብ ሃሳብ መሠረት በማድረግ፤ እንዲሁም የእንግሊዝን አድሚኒስትሬሽን፤ የኤርትራን የውስጥ አስተዳደር ሕግ አተገባበር መከታተል፤ ይህንንም በ1952 ጉባዔ እንዲያቀርብ።

ሰ/ ፌዴራል አክቱና የኤርትራ የውስጥ አስተዳደር ሕግ በምን አኳኋን እንደሚጸድቅና ሥራ ላይ መዋል እንደሚጀምር ዝርዝሩን ማየት።

6.7 በዚህ በሁለት ዓመት ውስጥ ተዩናይትድ ኔሽን ኮሚሲነር ጋር ያደረግሁት ትግል

ኮሚሽነሩ የላቲን አሜሪካ ሰው /ማቴንዞ ቦሊቪ የሚባል/፤ በጣም ፕሮ ኢጣልያን ነበር። የፌዴራል አክቱን መንፈስ ሳይከተል የተቻለውን ያህል ለኤርትራ ነጻነት የሚሰጥ ሕግ ያሰናዳ ጀመር። ይኸውም ለኢትዮጵያ መንግሥት የተሰጠውን ልዩ ልዩ ሥልጣን ለኤርትራ የውስጥ አስተዳደር እየሰጠ። አሥመራ እየተመላለስኩ ሃሳቡን ሁሉ በመቃወም አንድ ባንድ አፈርስ ነበር። የሱ ሃሳብ ያሰናዳውን ሕገ-መንግሥት እንቀበልም ብለን እምቢ ስንል ኢትዮጵያኖች አልተቀበሉምና ለኤርትራ ነጻነት ይሰጥ ለማለት ነበር። ለምሳሌ፤ አውሮጳ ሄዶ ስማቸው በዓለም የታወቀ የስዊድን ጁሪስቶች ብዙ ገንዘብ ከፍሎ ሃሳብ

እንዲሰጡት አደረገ፣ በጽፌት። እሱም የሚለው፣ «ፌደራል አክቱን ለመለወጥ /ለምሳሌ፣ ፌደራሲዎኑን ሰርዞ እንዲሁ ለመቀላቀል/ ዩናይትድ ኔሽን ታልተስማማበት አይሆንም» የሚል ነበር። ጽሑፋቸው አርካይቭ ይገኛል። ይህን ጊዜ ሲመለስ አሥመራ አውሮፕላን ማረፊያ ይህንኑ በመግለጽ ዲስኩር አደረገ። ወዲያውኑ አሥመራ በአውሮፕላን ሄጀ ተኮሚሽነሩ ጋር ስብሰባ እንዳደርግ ጠየቅሁ። ስብሰባውም እንዲሆን በመንግሥቱ ስም ኦፊሲኣል ዲክሌራሲዎን አደረግሁ። ይህም ባጭሩ፣ «ሕግ አዋቂዎች ተብለው የሰጡትን ሃሳብ እንስማማም፤ በመንግሥቱም ስም እቃወማለሁ። ዩናይትድ ኔሽን ያደረገው ሬዞሊሽን ለኢትዮጵያና ለኤርትራ ሕዝብ ሪኮማንዲሽን ነው። ልንቀበለው፣ ላንቀበለውም እንችላለን፤ ግዴታ የለብንም። የተቀበልነውም ጊዜ /ያጸደቅነው ጊዜ/ እንዲሁ ተስማምተን ልንለውጠው እንችላለን። ኢትዮጵያም፣ ኤርትራም በዩናይትድ ኔሽን ሞግዚትነት አይደለም የምንተዳደረው። ነጻ ሕዝቦችና መንግሥት ነን። ይህንንም፣ ለዩናይትድ ኔሽን ራፖርህን ስታቀርብ፣ የኛንም ዲክሌሬሽን አብሮ እንዲቀርብ እጠይቃለሁ» የሚል ነበር። ተዚህ በኋላም ጉባዔው ተዘግቶ ወደ አዲስ አበባ ተመለስኩ።

ተዚህ ሁሉ በኋላ የኤርትራ የውስጥ አስተዳደር በፌደራል አክት መንፈስ ተተሠራ በኋላ፣ የኤርትራም ሕዝብ እሲምብሊውን መርጦ ታጸደቀ በኋላ፣ ጃንሆይ ፌደራል አክቱንና የኤርትራን የውስጥ አስተዳደር ሕግ አጸደቁት። ተዚያም አሥመራ ገብተው ምጽዋንም ጎበኙ፤ እኔም አብሬ ነበርኩ። በዚያን ጊዜ የኢትዮጵያን ሕዝብና የኤርትራን ሕዝብ ደስታ ለመግለጽ ቃልም አይገኝለትም። ***ስኔም በህይወቴ ሁሉ እንደዚያ ጊዜ ደስታ ሳገኝም ስልችልም***። ኤርትራን ለማግኘት የደከምኩት በሽታ ላይ ጥሎኝ በየጊዜው እታመም ነበር። በሃሳብ እንቅልፍ እያጣሁ፣ አለርጅ እየያዘኝ። የአውሮጳ ሐኪሞች ሁሉ መድሐኒት የለውም፤ ጫና የሌለበት የቬጄቴቲብ ኑሮ ለስድስት ወር ማረፍ ብቻ ነው ይሉኝ ነበር። ያደረኩት ጉዞ፣ በአውሮፕላን፣ አንድ ጊዜ ሲታሰብ ላንድ ወር ያህል (ወደ 700 ሰዓት) በሰማይና በመሬት መካከል እንደቆየሁ ነበር። ያደረኩት ዲስኩርና ኢንተርቬንሽን በሺህ የሚቆጠር ገጽ ይሆናል። ይህ ሁሉ በአርካይቭ ይገኛል። ተዚህ በኋላ ራስ እንዳርጌ የጃንሆይ ሬፕሬዘንታቲቭ ሆነው፣ አቶ ተድላ ባህሩ /ያንድነት ወኪል/ ሽፍ ኤግዚኩቲቭ ሆነው ኤርትራን ማስተዳደር ጀመርን።

7. አፋምቦን በምን አኳኋን እንዳስመለስኩ

አፋምቦ፣ በኢትዮጵያና በፈረንሳይ ሱማሌ ጠረፍ አጠገብ በኢትዮጵያ ውስጥ የሚገኝ ስትራቴጂክ የሆነ ሥፍራ ነው። አውሣንና የፈረንሳይን ሱማሌ ተራራማ በመሆን ኮንትሮል የሚያደርግ፣ ውሃም ያለበት በጣም ጠቃሚ ሥፍራ ነው። ፈረንሳዮች ሁልጊዜ የጅቡቲ ግዛታቸውን ለማስፋፋት ወደ አውሳና ድሬዳዋ ነበር ዓይናቸውን የሚያዘነብሉት /በ1906 ፈረንሳይ፣ እንግሊዝና ጣልያን ኢትዮጵያን በዞን ለመከፋፈል ያደረጉትን ውል ማየት ይቻላል/።

ከ1944 ውል በኋላ እንግሊዞች ኢትዮጵያን ለቀው ሲሄዱ ፈረንሳይዎች አፋምቦን መያዛቸውን ተእንግሊዞች ሰምቼ፣ የፈረንሳይን አምባሳደር ጠርቼ ፕሮቴስታሲዎን አድርጌ በቶሎ እንዲለቁ ብጠይቅ፣ «አገሩ የፈረንሳይ ስለሆነ አንለቅም» አለ። ተጃንሆይ ጋርም፣ ተመንግሥቱ ጋር ተመካከርኩ፣ በኃይል ለመውሰድ። ያን ጊዜ ራስ አበበ የጦር ሚኒስትር ነበሩ። ኃይል፣ በዚያን ጊዜ ጅቡቲ ታሉት ፈረንሳዮች ጋር ለመዋጋት የሚበቃ፣ እንደሌለ አስረዱን። ሃሳቤ ጅቡቲንም ለመያዝ ነበረ። ምንም በኃይል አለመቻሉን ሲታወቅ በዲፕሎማሲ ብቻ የተቻለውን እንዳደርግ ታዘዝኩ።

የፈረንሳይን አምባሳደር ጠርቼ፣ «እናንተም 'የኛ ነው' ስትሉ እኛም 'የኛ ነው' ስንል፣ የሚለየን በጅቡቲና በኢትዮጵያ መካከል የተደረገው የጠረፍ ውል ነው። ተውሉ ጋር የተያያዘ ካርታ፣ የሼራ ካርታ የሚባል አለ። ስለዚህ አሁኑኑ አንድ ስምምነት ፕሮቶኮል ፈርመን ዲሊሚቴሽን ለማድረግ እንስማማ፤ ይህንንም ስናደርግ አፋምቦ በውነት የማን እንደሆ ይታወቃል» አልኩት። እሱም በመንግሥቱ ስም፣ «አሁን ጦርነት ላይ ነው ያለነው፤ ይህንን ለማድረግ ጊዜም የለ፤ አፋምቦንም አንለቅም» አለ።

እኔም፣ «አገራችንን ይዛችሁ አንለቅም፤ አገሩ የማን እንደሆ ለመነጋገርና ስምምነት ለማድረግ አንድ ስምምነት እናድርግ ብንል እምቢ ታላችሁ፤ የፈረንሳይ አምባሳደርነትህን ፕሪቪሌጅ ሁሉ እንስተናል። ይህንንም የምናደርገው በመጨረሻ በኣቫል ሬገርም ጊዜ

እናንተ የኢትዮጵያን ነጻነት እናውቅም ብላችሁ የጣልያንን ይዞታ አውቃችሁ ስለነበር ነው። እናንተም በጀርመን አራት ዓመት ስለተያዛችሁ፣ የፈረንሳይን ነጻነት አናውቅም። ያቀረብኩትን የውል ሀሳብ መንግሥትህ ተቀብሎ ለመፈረም ፈቃደኛ የሆነ ጊዜ፣ ስምምነቱን ስንፈርም አንድ መግለጫ እናወጣለን፤ ይኸውም ኢትዮጵያንና ፈረንሳይ በኦፊሲል እንደ ነጻ አገርና መንግሥት የሚተዋወቁበትን። እስከዚያ ድረስ ግን እንደ ፕራይቬት ሰው ነው የምንመለከትህ» ብዬ፣ ማናቸውንም ፕሪቬሌጅ አነሳሁ። ባንዲራ D.C ኦቶሞቢሉ ላይ ማድረግ እንዲከለከል ለፖሊስ ነገርኩ። የዲፕሎማቲክ ኢሚዩኒቲ መነሳቱን ለመንግሥቱ አስታውቆ መልሱን ሲጠባበቅ ቆየ።

ተትንሽ ቀን በኋላም የፈረንሳይ መንግሥት (ደጎል) በሃሳባችን ተስማምቶ ውሉን እንዲፈርም አዘዘው። አምባሳደሩም መሲዬ ደብሊስ ይባል ነበረ። በዚህ አኳኋን ፕሮቶኮሉንም፣ ሁለቱ መንግሥት የሚተዋወቁበትም አብሮ ተፈረመ።

ያጼ ምኒልክን ውል መሠረት በማድረግ /የውሉ ዓመት 1897 እ.እ.አ/ በፈረንሳይ ሱማሌና በኢትዮጵያ መካከል ያለውን ድንበር መጀመርያ ካርታ ላይ በኋላም መሬት ላይ ምልክት ለማድረግ በሁለቱም በኩል ኮሚስዮን ተቋቋመ። በኛ በኩል አንኮሎኔል ክፍሌ እርገቱና አቶ አበበ ገብረ ጻድቅ ነበሩ /ኮሎኔል ክፍሌ አሁን ደጃዝማች፣ ያን ጊዜ የጸጥታ ኃላፊ ነበር።/

7.1 በሥራው ጊዜ የገጠመን ችግር

በካርታ ሥራ ምንም ፕሪሲዝን /precision/ የሌለው፣ በጣም ቬግ የሆን፣ አገሩን ሳያየው እቤቱ ቁጭ ብሎ ወሰኑ በዚህ በዚህ ስፍራ እንዲህ ያለው ስም ባለው ተራራ ያልፋል እያለ ነው ያስመረው። እቦታው ላይ ሲኬድ ፈረንሳይዎች ተብዙ ጊዜያት ጀምረው የቦታውን ስም ሁሉ ለውጠውት ተገኘ /ለነሱ ጥቅም በሚሆን አኳኋን፤ የሀይቁን ስም ጭምር ሁሉ/። ምስክሮች ቢቀርቡም ሁሉም በነሱ የተገዙና አፋምቦ የፈረንሳይ ነው እያሉ የሚመሰክሩ ሆኑ። እኛ ደግሞ የኛ መሆኑን

የሚያስረዳ እንድም ኢንስቲቱሽን ቤት፣ ሠፈር የመሰለ ያደረግነው የለም። በዚህ አኳኋን ስሙም ተለውጦ ወደነሱ ስለሚያደርገው፣ ምስክር ሁሉ የነሱ ስለሆነ፣ የምንከራከርበት መንገድ አጣን።

በዲፕሎማቲክ ታልሆነ በቀር በውሉ መሠረት የደምቡን ማግኘት የማይቻል መሆኑን ተተረዳሁ በኋላ ፓሪስ ሄድኩ። እዚያም ተጠቅላይ ሚኒስትሩ መሲረኒ ማየር /ወዳጄ ነበር/ ተገናኘቼ ሁሉንም አስረዳሁት። ፈረንሳይና ኢትዮጵያ ተድሮ ጀምሮ ያላቸውን ወዳጅነት፣ በኢትዮጵያ ባቡር የፈረንሳይን ጥቅም፣ ጅቡቲ የኢትዮጵያ ናቹራል በር መሆኗን፣ የፈረንሳይ አርኪዎሎጂ ሚሲዎን እንዲሁም የፓስተር ኢንስትቲዩትና የፈረንሳይ ሊሴ መኖር፣ ይህ ሁሉ እያለ ፈረንሳይ በአፋምቦ ምክንያት ከኛ ጋር መጣላት ጥቅም እንዳልሆነ ገለፅኩለት። እሱም በነገሩ አስብበታለሁ ብሎ ምሳም ጋብዞኝ፣ በሁለተኛው ቀን ተውጭ ጉዳይ ሚኒስትሩ መሲዩ ቢዶ ጋር እንድነጋገር ለሱም ትእዛዝ መስጠቱን ነገረኝ። በቀጠሮውም ተቢዶ ተገናኘተን ተነጋገርን። እሱም ወደኛ ተመልሶ ዲሊሚቴሽን እንዲደረግ መስማማታቸውን አስታወቀኝ። በንግግሩም ጊዜ አቶ አበበ ገብረጻድቅ የሚያስፈልገውን ዶኩሞመንት ይዞ ተኔ ጋር ፓሪስ ይገኝ ነበር።

በዚህ አኳኋን በፈረንሳይ ሱማሌና በኢትዮጵያ መካከል ውሉን ተከትሎ አፋምቦን ወደኛ አድርጐ የዶሊሚቴሽኑ ሥራ አለቀ (ዶክሜንቱን ማየት)። ያን ጊዜም፣ የፈረንሳይ ጋዜጦች የፈረንሳይ መንግሥት ያደረገውን ክሪቲክ አድርገው «የማይገባ አገር ለኢትዮጵያ ተሰጠ፣ ጃንሆይና አክሊሉ የፈረንሳይ ጠላት ናቸው...» የሚል ካምፓኝ አድርገው ነበር። በፓርላማም ጉዳዩ ተነስቶ ክርክር ተደርጎ ነበር /ይህ ሁሉ ፈረንሳይ አርካይቭ ይገኛል/።

8. ጋምቤላ ወደ ኢትዮጵያ እንዲመለስ ያደረግሁት ነጕሳሲዎን (1954—55)

በአጼ ምኒልክና በእንግሊዞች መካከል (የሱዳንና የኢትዮጵያን ድንበር በተለይ የሚወስነው) በ1902 እ.አ.አ የተፈረመው ውል የሚለው ጋምቤላ በእንግሊዞቹ እጅ ይቆያል፤ ይኸውም እንግሊዝ እሱዳን እስካለች ድረስ ነው የሚል ነበር።

በ1954 ተጃንሆይ ጋር እንግሊዝን የጐበኘን ጊዜ ለሚስተር ኤደን ጉዳዩን አነሳሁበት፤ «ሱዳን በቅርብ ጊዜ ነጻ መሆኑ አይቀርም፤ ስለዚህ በውሉ መሠረት አሁኑኑ ጋምቤላን ብታስረክቡን» በማለት። እሱም፤ «የሱዳን ነጻነት ገና ነው፤ ሁለትና ሦስት ዓመት ቢያንስ ይወስዳል። በውሉ መሠረት ሱዳንን እስከምንለቅ መጠበቅ አለባችሁ» ብሎ፤ አጥብቆ ተከራከረ። እኔም፤ «ሱዳን ነጻ መንግሥት እስኪሆን ጠብቀን በኋላ ተነሱ ወንድሞቻችን ጋር ጋምቤላን አስረክቡን እያልን መጣላት አንፈልግም /እናንተ መቼም ይህ ነው ሥራችሁ።/ ስለዚህ አሁኑኑ አስረክቡን» ብዬ አጥብቄ ጠየቅሁ። በመጨረሻም አንድ ፎርሙላ ላይ ስምምነት አድርገን ተለያየን። ይህም ሱዳን ነጻ ተመውጣቱ ከሦስት ወር በፊት ሁለቱ መንግሥታቶች ተነጋግረው ጋምቤላን እንዲያስረክቡ።

ከሦስትና አራት ወር በኋላ አዲስ አበባንና ኢትዮጵያን ለመጎብኘት ማርሻል ቲቶ ስለመጡ፤ ተሳቸውና ተጃሆይ ጋር ለጉብኝት ምጽዋ እንገኝ ነበር። በሬዲዎን ስንሰማ፤ ታምስት ቀን በኋላ እንግሊዝ ለሱዳን ነጻነቷን የሚሰጥ መሆኑን ወሬው አተተ። ሁለትና ሦስት ዓመት የተባለው ሁሉ ውሸት ሆነ። እንግሊዝ ጋምቤላን ሳትለቅ ለሱዳን አስረክባ ልትሄድ መሆኑንና፤ ተሱዳንም መንግሥት ጋር ኮንፍሊክት እንደሚሆን ግልጽ ነበር።

ጉዳዩን ለጃንሆይ አስረድቼ፤ ወዲያውኑ ወደ አዲስ አበባ መጥቼ /እርብ ቀን ነበር/፤ አንድ ኖት አሰናድቼ፤ ቅዳሚት የእንግሊዝን አምባሳደር ጠርቼ ኖቱን ሰጠሁት። የኖቱም ቃል የሚለው፤ «በውሉ

መሠረት ጋምቤላን እንግሊዞች የሚይዙት ሱዳን እስካሉ ድረስ ነው። አሁን እንግሊዞች በድንገት ሱዳንን ስለሚለቁ፣ በውሉና ተሱዳን ጋር በተስማማነው መሠረት ተሰኞ ጀምሮ /ተሁለት ቀን በኋላ/ ኢትዮጵያ ጋምቤላን ይይዛል» የሚል ነበር። እሱም ፕሮቴስት አድርጎ ለመንግሥቱ የኛቴን ቃል አስተላልፋለሁ አለ። ለሱዳን የውስጥ አስተዳደር ባለስልጣኖችም አንድ ቴሌግራም በአቶ መለሰ አንዶም በኩል /ያን ጊዜ የኛ ሊኢዞን ኦፊሰር አሁን ካይሮ አምባሳደር/ ላክሁ። ይኸው የሚለው፣ ለነጻነታችሁ ጥልቅና መልካም ምኞታችንንና ወደፊትም እንደወንድማማቾች አብረን እንድንሠራ፣ ጋምቤላ በኮሉኒአሊስቶች በኃይል ተይዞብን ስለነበረ ተሰኞ ጀምሮ እኩፓይ ማድረጋችንን፣ ግን ይህ ወዳጅነታችንን የማይነካና የሱዳንም ቆንሲልና ማናቸውም ቤትና ኢንስቶሌሽን ቢኖር ለጊዜው ለመቆየት መቻሉን የሚገልጽ ነበር። እነሱም በነጻነታቸው ለጊዜው በደስታ የተጥለቀለቁ ስለሆነ፣ ተምስጋና ጋር በምናደርገውም መስማማታቸውን የሚገልጽ መልስ ሰጡ።

እንደተባለው ሰኞ ባትራቢያው የሚገኘው የፖሊስ ኃይል ጋምቤላ ገብቶ የኢትዮጵያን ባንዲራ አውለበለበ፤ አድሚኒስትሬሽኑንም ያዘ። ምንም አክሲደንት አልደረሰ።

ተሦስት ወር በኋላ በውጭ ጉዳይ ሚኒስትር የሚመራ የሱዳን ዴሊጌሽን ጋምቤላ ስላላቸው ኢንስቶሌሽን ለመነጋገር አዲስ አበባ መጡ። በንግግራችንም ጊዜ በቁጣ መልክ፣ «ለእንግሊዞች የፈቀዳችሁትን ጋምቤላን ለምን ለኛ ላፍሪካኖች ትነፍጉናላችሁ? ጋምቤላን መልሱልን» በማለት **ከሥረ ነገሩ** መግባት ጀመሩ። እኔም፣ «እንግሊዞች ኮሉኒያሊስቶች አፍሪካን በሚከፋፈሉበት ጊዜያት በኃይል የያዙብን ነው፤ አሁን ኮሉኒ ሁሉ ነጻ ይውጣ ሲባል እናንተ ይህን እንዴት ትጠይቃላችሁ? ይልቅስ በወንድማማች መንፈስ የምትወስዱትን ዕቃ ዝርዝር ብንነጋገር ይሻላል፤ ስትመጡም በዚህ ብቻ መሆኑን የተለዋወጥነው ኖት ያስረዳል። ተዚያ በቀር ሌላ ጉዳይ ለመነጋገር የተስማማንበት ፕሮሲጀር አይፈቅድም» አልኳቸው። እነሱም ተቆጥተው ስብሰባውን ጥለው ወጡ /ያን ጊዜ ተኔ ጋር ብላታ ዳዊት፣ ምክትል ሚኒስትር እንዳልካቸውና ዋና ዲሬክተሩ ነበሩ/። በዚሁም እንዳልካቸው

ደንግጦ፣ ምን ይሆን ብሎ ጠይቆን ነበር። ግድ የለም፣ አሁን እንስማማለን ስለው፣ «እኔ መቼም ኤክስፒሪያንስ የርስዎን የለኝም» ብሎ አደነቀ። ተወጡም በኋላ ለእንግሊዝ፣ ለአሜሪካን አምባሳደሮቹ እየዞሩ ስሞታቸውን ያቀርቡ ጀመር። በኋላም እሱን [ሚኒስትሩን] ለብቻው ጠርቼ፣ በረጅሙ አስረድቼው፣ ተቆጣው ተመለሰ። አስፈላጊውን ስምምነት አደረግን። ተዚያ በኋላ የጋምቤላ ጉዳይ በሱዳኖች ተነስቶም አያውቅ።

፱. በኢትዮጵያና በኬንያ መካከል የሚወሰነውን ወሰን በውሉ መሠረት በምን አኳኋን እንዲከለል እንዳደረግሁ

እውጭ ጉዳይ እንደገባሁ፣ የኢትዮጵያን ወሰን ተሌሎቹ አገሮች ጋር በኢንተርናሽናል ውል መሠረት በትክክል መወሰን ዋና ጉዳይ አርጌ ነበር ያየሁት። ይህም በወልወል በደረሰብን ኤክስፔሪያንስ ነው። ተዚያም በኋላ ያፋምበ መጣ። ትንሽ መንግሥት እንደመሆናችን መጠን የተከበብነው፣ ያን ጊዜ፣ በንኛው በኮሎኒያሊስቶች ስለሆነ አጥራችንን ደህና አርጐ ማጠር አስፈላጊ ነበር። ብዙ ጊዜ የወሰኑ ውል፣ ታጼ ምኒልክ ጋር /1897—1908 እ.አ.አ/ የተደረገው ቬግ የሆነ፣ ፕሪሲዠን የሌለው ነው። ኢትዮጵያ ተመወረሯ በፊት /1935/ ታንድ አገር ብቻ ነበር ወሰናችን የተከለለው። ይኸውም ተእንግሊዝ ሱማሌ ጋር ነው። በዚሁ ምክንያት ነው ተጉረቤት አገር ጋር በየጊዜው የፍሮንቲእር ኢንሲደንት የነበረን /ቢሺን፣ በኬንያ በኩል ተናንተ ጋር ስላለው የድንበር ግጭት ፕሮቴስታሲዎን ያደረግንበት ወረቀት ይህን ቤት ይሞላል ብሎኝ ነበር/።

ይህን ሁሉ ለጃንሆይ ታስረዳሁ በኋላ መጀመሪያ ጊዜ ሉንዶን ስሄድ /በ1946/ አንዱ ጉዳይ የተነጋገርሁበት ይህ ነበር። /ተኔ ጋርም ጸሐፊ ትእዛዝ ተፈራወርቅ ነበሩ።/ ዲሊሚቴሽን ለማድረግ የእንግሊዝ መንግሥት ተስማምቶ፣ ይህንኑ ለመነጋገርና አንድ ፕሮቶኮል ለመፈራረም በቅርብ ጊዜ አንድ ዴሊጌሽን ወደ አዲስ አበባ እንደሚልክ አስታወቀ።

የእንግሊዝ ዴሊጌሽንም ተመጣ በኋላ፣ ውሉን መሠረት በማድረግ ካርታ ላይ መስመሩን ለማስመተር፣ አንድ ተእነሱና ተእኛ የተዋጣ ሚክስድ ኮሚስዎን ተቋቋመ። ሥራቸውንም ጀመሩ። ተእኛ በኩል እነ ኮሎኔል ክፍሉ፣ አቶ አበበ ገብረጻድቅና ሌሎችም ነበሩ። ብዙ ጊዜም ሥፍራውን እየሄዱ ይጉብኙ ነበር። በመጨረሻም የተስማሙበትን መስመር ለየመንግሥታቸው አቅርበው ተፈቀደ።

ተዚህም በኋላ መሬቱ ላይ ዲሊሚቴሽን ተጀመረ። ብዙ ዓመትና ብዙ ገንዘብም ተፈጀ በኋላ ሥራው አለቀ። ተትንሽ ዓመት በኋላ ቀደዱማ የሚባለው የውሃ ጉድጓድ ሕዝቡ ጠቃሚያችን ነው፣ እንደ

እድባርም የምንቆጥረው ነው ብሎ እቤት ስላለ ጉዳዩ እንዲታይ ተደረገ፣ በኮሚስዮን። የጉድጓዱ አከፋፈል የሚበልጠው ወደኛ እንዲሆን /ዘጠኝ ሥፍራ ያለው ጉድጓድ/፣ ለነሱ ደግሞ ሁለት ሥፍራ ያለ ጉድጓድ ነበር። ሃሳቡ፣ ውሃ እናጣለን በማለት የእኛም የነሱም ሕዝብ ወሰን እንዳያልፍና ኢንሲደንት እንዳይነሳ ነው። በዚሁ ጉዳይ የሕዝብ ስሜት ስላለበት ቀደዱማን እንዲመልሱ ለእንግሊዞች አስረዳኋቸው። እነሱም፣ «የሚበቃ ውሃ ተኛ ይበልጥ አላችሁ፣ ግን ኢንሲስት ታደርጋላችሁ፣ በሱ ፋንታ የሰጠነውን ያገር ክፍል መልሱና እኛም ቀደዱማን እንመልስ» ብለው፣ ጥያቄያችንን በጉድ ፈገ ተቀበሉ። በዚሁ አኳኋን ጉዳዩ ተፈጽሞ የዚያን ክፍል እንደገና መሬቱ ላይ ምልክት እንዲደረግ ሆነ።



ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትር አክሊሉ ሀብተወልድ ከኬንያው ፕሬዚዳንት ጆሞ ኬንያታ ጋር ሲወያዩ።

ተዚያም ታመታት በኋላ ኬንያ ነጻ ስትወጣ፣ ድንበራችን ተከልሎ ስለቆዩ፣ ተኋ ጋር በወዳጅነትና በወንድማማች መንፈስ እስታሁን እንኖራለን። ተፈረንሳይ ሱማሌ ጋር ያለን ወሰን እላይ በተባለው አኳኋን ስለተወሰነ፣ ተእንግሊዝም ሱማሌ ጋር ያለው ተጦርነቱ በፊት አለቀ። ተኬንያም ጋር በዚህ አኳኋን ሲያልቅ የሚቀረን ተጣልያን ሱማሌና ተሱዳን ጋር ያለው ድንበር ነው።

ተጣልያን ሱማሌ ጋር ያለንን ለመወሰን፣ ገና ሱማሌ በዩናይትድ ኔሽን ሞግዚትነትና በጣልያን አስተዳዳሪነት ባለች ጊዜ /ተ1950—1960/ የዩናይትድ ኔሽን ሪዞሊሽን እንደሚያዘውና በስም መሠረት ለመወሰን፣ ተጣልያኖች ጋር ብዙ ጉባዔ ተደርጉበታል። ብዙም ተደክሟል። ያን ጊዜ የኛን ዲሊጌሽን፣ ስለወሰኑ ጉዳይ የሚነጋገረውን፣ የሚመራው አቶ ሐዲስ ዓለማየሁ ነበር። ጉዳዩም የደረሰበትን ለዩናይትድ ኔሽን በየጊዜው እየቀረበ ሪዞሊሽን ይደረግበት ነበር። ጣልያኖች የውሉን ትርጉም በማይገባ እየሰጡ ጉዳዩን ያጓትቱት ነበር። ያልተስማማንበትን፣ በሪዞሊሽኑ መሠረት ወደ አርቢትሬጅ ለመሄድ፣ ብዙ ታክቲክና ሳቦታጅ እያደረጉ ጉዳዩን ይጎትቱት ነበር /ሁሉንም ለመረዳት ፕሮሲቬርባሉንና የዩናይትድ ኔሽንን ዶኩሜንት ማየት ያስፈልጋል/። ለዚህ ሁሉ አቤቱታችንን ለዓለም ማህበር ማቅረብ አላቋረጥንም። ጉዳዩም ሳያልቅ ሱማሌ በ1960 ነጻ ወጣች። ጣልያኖች ጉዳዮን የሚጎትቱበትን አንድ ምክንያት ሱማሌዎችንም በመፍራት ነበር።

ሱማሌ ነጻ ተወጣች በኋላ ወሰኑን ለመከለል በየጊዜው ፕሮፖዛል አቅርበንላቸው ነበር። የነሱም መልስ፣ «ኦጋዴን የኛ ስለሆነ አንዋሰንም» ነው። በሱዳን በኩል ያለውን ብዙ ጊዜ ተተነጋገርን በኋላ በመሠረቱ ስምምነት ላይ ደርሰናል /ዶኩሜንቱን ማየት/።

10. የ1948 /1955 እ.ኤ.አ/ ሕገ-መንግሥት እንደምን እንደተሠራና ለዚህ የደከምኩት

ለኤርትራና ለሌሎችም ጉዳዮች በምንሟገትበት ጊዜያት የድሮው ሕገ-መንግሥት /1930/ እንዲተካ በየጊዜው ለጃንሆይ ሃሳብ አቀርብ ነበር። ይኸውም፡-

ሀ/ ሕዝቡ እየቀደመ በሄደ ቁጥር ቀድመን ተስማሚውን ያስተዳደር መሠረት የሆነውን ማሻሻል እንዳለብን፤ የበፊቱ ሕገ-መንግሥት ለጊዜው ጠቅሟል፤ አሁን ግን ጊዜው አልፎበታል።

ለ/ ተጦርነቱ በኋላ ብዙ ለውጥ በዓለም ላይ ስለሆነ ለዚህ ለውጥ ተገቢ ሆነን እንድንገኝ።

ሐ/ ሞደርንና ዲሞክራቲክ የሆነ ሕገ-መንግሥት ያለን እንደሁ በዓለም ፊት ደህና ኢምፕሬሽን ሰጥቶ ለጥያቄአችን ስለሚረዳን። ጃንሆይ ሃሳቡን ቢረዱትና ቢቀበሉትም ብዙ ሬዚስታንስ ነበር፤ ተራሶቹና ተመኳንንቶቹ በኩል፤ ማን ጠየቀንና ነው በማለት።

በመጨረሻም ተብዙ ክርክርና ሬዚስታንስ በኋላ ይህንን የሚያስረዳ አንድ ኮሚሲዮን ተቋቋመ። አባሎቹም ቢትወደድ መኩንን፣ ጸሐፊ ትእዛዝ ወልደጊዮርጊስ፣ አቶ ይልማና እኔ አራቱ ነበርን። ከነዚህ አባሎችም ውስጥ የሕግ ትምህርት ያለኝ እኔ ብቻ ነበርኩ። ተውጭ አገር ሕግ አዋቂዎች ሙሴ ስፒንሰር ሁል ጊዜ አብሮን ነበር። አልፎ አልፎ አንድ የውጭ አገር ስፔሻሊስት እየመጣ የተሠራውን እያየ ሃሳብ ይሰጥ ነበር።

ኮሚሲዮኑ የሚሠራው ቀጥሎ ባለው አኳኋን ነበር። እኔና ሕግ አዋቂዎቹ ያሰናዳነውን ለኮሚሲዮኑ እናቀርብ ነበረ። ተዚያም ልዩ ልዩ ክርክር ተደርጎ፣ የሚሰጡትን ለውጠው፣ ፕሮግሬሲቭ የሆነውን አስቀርተው ተተስማሙ በኋላ የኮሚሲዮኑም ሃሳብ ለዘውድ ምክር ቤት በጃንሆይ ሰብሳቢነት፣ ልዑል አልጋወራሽ ራስ ካሣ ያሉበት ቀርቦ ብዙ ክርክር ይደረግ ነበር። እያንዳንዱ አንቀጽ ለምን እየተባለ ሬዚስታንስ ሲደረግ የሌላውን አገር እየጠቀስኩ አስረጂው እኔው ነበርኩ /ዝርዝሩ

ብዙ ነው፣ ፕሮሲቬርባሉን ማየት ይጠቅማል/። በኋላም ለያንዳንዱ አንቀጽ ምስክር አቅርብ የሚል ጥያቄ ራስ ካሣ አመጡ። የ50 ያህል መንግሥታት ሕገ-መንግሥት አምጥተን የኛን አንቀጽና ሌላውን ለምስክርነት እናቀርብ ነበር። ይህ ሁሉ በዶክሜንት ውስጥ ይገኛል።

በጠቅላላው ከላይ እንደተባለው ማንንም አይጠይቀን፣ ለምንድነው የምንለውጠው በማለት ፕሮግሬሲቭ የሆነውን ሁሉ ሃሳብ ሲያከሽፍብን በብዙ ትግል አሁን ያለውን ሕገ-መንግሥት ለመሥራትና ለመጨረስ ስምምነት ላይ ተደረሰ። ጃንሆይ ሁል ጊዜም ድጋፋቸውን እንደሰጡን ነበር፣ «ልብ አርግ፣ ይህ ሁሉ ተቃዋሚ እያለ አንተን እምነን ነው ይህን ሕገ-መንግሥት የምናወጀው»፣ ሲሉ አስታውሳለሁ። እኔም አመስግኜ ለዚያን ጊዜ ለኢትዮጵያም፣ ለጃንሆይም ታሪክ አስፈላጊ መሆኑንና ደግሞ ለወደፊት እየታየ፣ ጊዜውን እየተከተልን የበለጠ ዲሞክራቲክ የሆነ ሕገ-መንግሥት ማወጅ እንዳለብን፣ ይህንንም በማድረጋችን ጥቅም እንጂ ጉዳት እንደማይኖር አረጋግጬ፣ በኃላፊነትም ጃንሆይ እንዳይዘኑ አንድ ማስታወሻ ጽፌላቸው ነበር። /አዲሱ ሕገ-መንግሥት ምንም በሙሉ ዲሞክራቲክ ነው ባይባልም - ይኸም ሬዚስታንስ ስላገኘን ነው—የመጀመሪያውን **በብዙ ለውጦታል**/።

በመጨረሻም የሕገ-መንግሥቱ ሃሳብ ለፓርላማ ቀርቦ ምክር ቤት ተተስማማበት በኋላ፣ በጥቅምት 24 ቀን 1948 /4 ኅዳር 1955 እ.ኤ.አ./ ታወጀ። ይህም በመቅድሙ ላይ ጃንሆይ እንዳሉት፣ ተብዙ ዓመታት ሪቪውና ምርመራ በኋላ ነው። በማስታወሻ በገለጥኩት መሠረት፡-

ሀ/ በአሥራ ዘጠኝ መቶ ሃምሳ ዘጠኝ ይህ አሁን ያለው ሕገ-መንግሥት እንዲሻሻል ሃሳብ አቅርቤ ኮሚሲዮን ተቋቁሞ ሃሳቡ ለጃንሆይ ቀርቧል፤

ለ/ አሁንም በቅርቡ፣ እኛ ሥራ ተተውን በኋላ፣ ሕገ-መንግሥቱ እንዲለወጥ ሃሳብ አቅርቤላቸው ነበር። ይህንንም እንደግል ኢትዮጵያዊነቴ፣ ማንም ሃሳቡን ለማቅረብ እንደሚችል እንጂ በሌላ በሥራም ሆነ አንድም ሃሳብ የሰጠሁትና ኢንተርቪን ያረኩት የለም። ሃሳቡንም ራሳቸውም አስበውበት ለሕዝቡ በራዲዮን ገለጡት።

10.1 የፍትሐብሔር፣ የወንጀለኛ፣ የንግድና የባሕር ሕጎች

ሕገ-መንግሥቱ ተቃወጀ በኋላ፤ ይህንኑ ተከትሎ ተስማሚ የሆነ የፍትሐ ብሔር፣ የወንጀለኛ፣ የንግድና የባሕር ሕጐች /Code Civil, Code Penal, Code Commercial, Code Maritime and Code Procedure/ ማሰናዳትና ማወጅ አስፈላጊና ጠቃሚ መሆኑን ለጃንሆይ ሃሳብ አቀረብኩ። እሳቸውም ሃሳቤን በሙሉ ተቀብለውት፤ ይህም ታላላቅ ሊቃውንትና ሕግ አዋቂዎች ማስፈለጉን፤ ማሰናዳቱ ብዙ ጊዜም እንደሚፈጅ ገምቼ ነበር። ለዚሁም አውሮፓ ሄጄ ሪሰርች ታደረግሁ በኋላ በዓለም የታወቁ ስፔሻሊስት የሆኑትን በመጠየቅ፣ ተነሱም በመነጋገር፣ ለፍትሐብሔር ሕግ ፕሮፌሰር ዳቪድ፣ የሶርቦን ዩኒቨርሲቲ የዚሁ ክፍል አስተማሪ፤ ለወንጀለኛ የስዊስ ዩኒቨርሲቲ አስተማሪ ፕሮፌሰር፤ ለንግድ ሕግ በሶርቦን አስተማሪ የሆነ ፕሮፌሰር እንዲቀጠር ሆነ። እነሱም አዲስ አበባ መጥተው ተኢትዮጵያ በኩል ተተቋቋመው ኮሚሲዎን ጋር ስራቸውን ጀመሩ። የኢትዮጵያን ኮሚሲዎን አባሉችም ሆኑ።

ምክትል ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትርና የውጭ ጉዳይ ሚኒስትር /ኅዳር 1950—1957/ በዚህ በሦስት ዓመታት ጊዜያት ምንም ምክትል ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትር ብባል በሚኒስትሮች ምክር ቤት ሰብሳቢና ፕሬዚዳንት ራስ አበበ አረጋይ ነበሩ። እዚያ የተወሰነውንና በጃንሆይ የጸደቀውን ትእዛዝ ማስተላለፍ ብቻ ነበር፣ ዋና ሥራዬ። በሌላ በኩል ደግሞ የውጭ ጉዳይ ሥራ ነበረብኝ። ቢሆንም፣ በዚያን ጊዜ ነው ከላይ የተዘረዘሩት ህጎች የወጡት።

10.2 ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትርና የጽሕፈት ሚኒስትር መጋቢት 23/1959

ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትርም የሆንኩት ተኩዶ-ታ በኋላ ነው። ወዲያውኑ በብዙ ክፍል ልዩ ልዩ ሪፎርም ማድረግ አስፈላጊ መሆኑና አሁንም ኢትዮጵያ ለደረሰችበት ተገቢ መሆኑን በየጊዜው ለጃንሆይ ሃሳብ እያቀረብኩ፤

ስለሚደረገው መሻሻል በየጊዜው ተነጋግረን ጃንሆይ በመሠረተ ሐሳቡ ተተስማሙ በኋላ፣ ያንጊዜ ኮሊግ ተሆኑት ጀኔራል አቢይ፣ ያገር ግዛት ሚኒስትር፣ ጀኔራል መርድ፣ የመከላከያ ሚኒስትር፣ አቶ ይልማ፣ የገንዘብ ሚኒስትር የነበሩትን አነጋገርኩ። እነሱም በሃሳቡ ተስማሙበት፣ በኋላ የዚህን ሪፎርም ሃሳብ የሚዘረዝር አንድ ማስታወሻ አስናድቼ አብረን ለጃንሆይ እንድናቀርብ አደረግሁ። እሳቸውም መፍቀዳቸውን ገለጡልኝ፣ ሐምሌ 8/1953።

እንዲሻሻሉ ያቀረብኋቸው ዋና ዋና ጉዳዮች ቀጥሎ ያሉት ነበሩ።

1. የሕገ-መንግሥት የሚሻሻልበትን፣
2. የፍርድ ሥራ የሚሻሻልበትን፣
3. የመሬት ይዞታ የሚሻሻልበትን፣
4. የጠቅላይ ግዛቶች የውስጥ አስተዳደር የሚሻሻልበትን፣
5. የአገር አገዛዝ ደንብ አስተዳዳር የሚሻሻልበትን፣
6. የአድሚኒስትራሲዎን ሥራ የሚሻሻልበትን፣
7. የጠቅላይ ሚኒስትርና የሚኒስትሮች ሥልጣን፣
8. ትምህርት የሚስፋፋበትን፣
9. የመንግሥት ሠራተኞች አስተዳደር፣
10. የአሠሪና የሠራተኞች ግንኙነት ሕግና የሠራተኞች መሥሪያ ቤት መቋቋም፣
11. የመንግሥት ሠራተኞች የጡረታ ሕግ፣
12. የወንጀለኛና የብሔራዊ ሕግ ሥነ-ሥርአት፣
13. የአምስት ዓመት ፕላንና
14. የጥቅም መጋጨት።

እነዚህን ከላይ የተዘረዘሩትን ጉዳዮች እያጠና ሃሳብ የሚያቀርብ በጠቅላይ ሚኒስትር ሥር የሚኒስትሮችና ተገቢ የሆኑ የመንግሥት ሠራተኞች የሚገኙበት፣ ሰባት ወይም ስምንት ኮሚሲዎኖች ተቋቋሙ፣ ዝርዝሩን ዶክሜንቱን ማየት።

የበላይ ኮሚቴ፣ በኔ ሰብሳቢነት፣ አባሎቹ እነጀኔራል አቢይ፣ ጀኔራል መርድ፣ አቶ ይልማ፣ **የሕገ-መንግሥት መሻሻያ** ኮሚሲዎን

ስብሳቢ አቶ አበበ ረታ፣ አባሎች ኮሎኔል ታምራት፣ ልጅ እንዳልካቸው፣ አቶ ማሞ፣ አቶ ከተማ፣ ደጃዝማች ሥዩም፣ አቶ ጌታቸው ክብረት፣ ሚስተር ፓራዲስ ነበሩ። ሌሎችም ይህ የመሰሉ አባሎች የነበሩበት ነው። ለምሳሌ፣ የመሬት ማሻሻያን መጀመሪያ ኮሎኔል ታምራት፣ ቀጥሎም አቶ ታደሰ፣ በኋላም አቶ አካለ ወርቅ ነበሩ የሚሰበስቡት።

ኮሚሲዮኖቹ ሥራቸውን አንድ ምዕራፍ በደረሱ ቁጥር ተበላይ ኮሚቴ ጋር ስብሰባ ተደርጎና ሃሳብ ለሃሳብ እንለዋወጥ ነበር። የኮሚቴውና የኮሚሲዮኖች ስብሰባ በየጊዜውም በጋዜጣና በራዲዮን ይወጣ ነበር።

የሕገ-መንግሥት ኮሚሲዮን ሥራውን ሠርቶ ይሻሻል ብሎ ያቀረበው ማስታወሻ ቀርቦልን ተተንጋገርንበት በኋላ ተስማምተንበት ለጃንሆይ አቀረብን፣ ፋንዳሜንታል የሆነ የሃሳብ ለውጥ አላቀረቡም ነበር። /ማስታወሻቸውን ማየት።/

ሌላው ኮሚሲዮኖች የሚያቀርቡትን በዚሁ አኳኋን እየሠራን ለጃንሆይ እናቀርብ ነበር። ብዙም ጊዜ ጃንሆይ ዘንድ፣ የዘውድ ምክር ቤት አባሎችና ሌሎች ሚኒስትሮች ያሉበት፣ ስብሰባ እየተደረገ የተወሰኑ አሉ፣ ፕሮሲቨርባሉን ማየት።

በዚህ አኳኋን ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትር በነበርኩበት ጊዜ ያለቁትና የተፈጸሙት፡-

1. የሁለተኛና የሦስተኛ የኢትዮጵያ ያምስት ዓመት ፕላን፣
2. የመንግሥት ሠራተኛ ጡረታ ሕግና ደንቦች፣
3. የመንግሥት ሠራተኞች ማስተዳደሪያ ሕግና ደንብ፣
4. ያሠሪና ሠራተኞች ግንኙነት ሕግ፣
5. ያውራጃ የውስጥ አስተዳደር ትእዛዝ /ሕጉን ፓርላማ ለማውጣት ስላልፈቀደ/፣
6. የሕዝብ ልማት ድርጅቶች /ኮኦፕሬቲቭ/ አቋሞች ደንብ፣
7. የመሬት ይዞታ ጉዳይ፣ የጉልት መቅረት፣ የጢሰኛና የባለርስት ግንኙነት ሕግ በፓርላማ ለማቅረብ በየጊዜው ክርክር ላይ ነበር። ፓርላማ ይህን እስታሁን ለማውጣት ባለመፍቀዱ፣ ሌላው የመሬት

መያዣ ጣሪያና ሬጅስትሬሽን ተሰናድቶ ነበር። በመሬት ይዞታ ሚኒስቴር የተሰናዳውን ሁሉ ማየት።

8. ያገር አገዛዝ ደንብ፤
9. የፍርድ፣ የዳኞች አሿሿምና ነጻነት ሕግ፤
10. የፍትሐብሔርና የወንጀለኛ ሕግ ሥነ-ሥርዓት፤
11. የሚኒስትሮችና የጠቅላይ ሚኒስትር ሥልጣንና ተግባር፤
12. የሚሊቴሪ ሰርቪስ ሕግ ናቸው።

10.3 የአፍሪካ አንድነት ድርጅት

1. ይህን ድርጅት ለማቋቋም የተደከመው ዝርዝሩ ብዙ ስለሆነ ባጭሩ ብቻ እጠቅሰዋለሁ።

   ሀ/ አፍሪካ በሦስት ግሩፕ ተከፋፍሎ ነበረ፤

      1. የካዛብላንካ ቡድን፣
      2. የሞንሮቪያና
      3. የአረብ ሊግ።

   ለ/ የመጀመሪያው ስብሰባ በሌጐስ በ1961 እንዲሆን አደረግን። በዚህም የኢትዮጵያ ሮል ብዙ ነው፤

   ሐ/ በስብሰባው ጊዜም እኛ ብቻ ነበርን በቋንቋችን የተናገርነው። ሌሎቹ በእንግሊዝ፣ በፈረንሳይና በአረብ ነበር። ቻርተሩን ለመሥራትና ለመፈራረም አዲስ አበባ እንዲሆን ብዙ ደከመን ስለነበረ በዚሁ ተወሰነ።



የናይጄሪያውን ፕሬዚዳንት (ጀነራል) ያኩቡ ጎዋን ለአፍሪካ አንድነት ድርጅት ስብሰባ አዲስ አበባ የመጡ ጊዜ ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትር አክሊሉ ሀብተወልድ ሲቀበሏቸው።

መ/ የአዲስ አበባ ስብሰባ 1962

- ተስብሰባው በፊት የቻርተሩን ድራፍት /ሃሳብ/ እኔ ቢሮ አሰናዳን፤ ተሳቲን አሜሪካ አንድ አዋቂ ቀጥረን ነበር/።
- የውጭ ጉዳይ ሚኒስትሮች ሲሰበሰቡ ድራፍቱን አቀረብን።
- የነሱ ሃሳብ፤ መሪዎቹ ተስምንት ቀን በኋላ ሲሰበሰቡ እንዲያጠኑትና ሃሳብ እንዲሰጡበት፤ ለሚመጣው ዓመት ለማስተላለፍ ነበር።

- ዋናቹን /የግብጽ የውጭ ጉዳይ ሚኒስትር ዶክተር ፋውዚ፤ የኔ የድሮ ወዳጅ ስለነበረ /በየተራ ጋብዤ አሁኑኑ መፈረም አለብን እያልኩ አግባባኋቸው።
- የውጭ ጉዳይ ሚኒስትሮቹ በድራፍቱ ተስማምተውበት፤ የመሪዎች ጉባዔ ተከፈተ።
- መሪዎቹ ዲስኩራቸውን በሚያደርጉበት ጊዜያት፤ የውጭ ጉዳይዎቹ በኮሚሲዮን ተሰይመው ድራፍቱን እንዲአዘጋጁ አደረግን /አምስት ቀን ብቻ ስላለ/። ጃንሆይም፤ «ይህን ሳንፈርም መሄድ የለብንም» ብለው እንዲናገሩ ተደርጎ ሌላውም ተከተለ።
- የውጭ ጉዳይ ሚኒስትሮች ጉባዔ ራፖር ቀረበ፤ ክርክር ተደረገ።
- አሁን መፈረም አይቻልም ያሉትን አግባባናቸው።
- ሌሊት በ11 ሰዓት ተፈረመ።

2/ የመጀመሪያው የድርጅቱ ስብሰባ ካይሮ በ1963 እንዲሆን ተወሰነ።
- ሄድኳርተሩ አዲስ አበባ እንዲሆን እዚያ ድረስ በልዩ ልዩ መንገድ ሥርተን ነበር።
- ስብሰባው እንደተከፈተና በዲቤቱ ጊዜያት፤ የድርጅቱ ሥፍራ አዲስ አበባ እንዲሆን ሃሳብ አቅርቤ በጭባጨባ ተቀበሉት።
- በዚህም ጊዜ ያገሮቹ ወሰን ሁሉ፤ በተሰቀቁ ጊዜያት ባለው እንዲረጋ ተወሰነ።

3/ ድርጅቱ ለኢትዮጵያ የሰጠው ጥቅም፤

ሀ/ ኢኮኖሚክ
- የተከፈተው ኤምባሲ ወደ 70 ደረሰ፤
- አዲስ የጉባዔ መሰብሰቢያ ሆነ፤
- የሥራ ዕድል ከፈተ፤

ለ/ ፕሬስቲጅ፤ ልዩ ልዩ ድርጅቶች ሥራቸውን እዚህ አቋቋሙ፤

ሐ/ ፖለቲካ፤ በሱማሌ ያደረግሁት ኢንተርቤንሽን።



ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትር አክሊሉ ሀብተወልድ በ1963 የአ.አ.ድ ስብሰባ ላይ።

የዩናይትድ ኔሽን የኢኮኖሚክ ድርጅት አዲስ አበባ መሆኑ ተዋናቹ መንግሥቶች /ተአሜሪካ፣ ተእንግሊዝና፣ ተፈረንሳይ/ ጋር በንግግርና በመግባባት ያደረግሁት ቀደም ብሎ ነው፤ ዝርዝሩ ብዙ ነው።

10.4 ስለመከላከያ መሣርያ ለማስገኘት የደከምኩት

1/ ተአሜሪካኖች ጋር **የመረዳዳት ውል** /Mutual Assistance Agreement/ በ1953 እንደምን እንደተከራከርኩና እንደፈረምኩ፦

ሀ/ 12,000 /አሥራ ሁለት ሺህ/ ጠመንጃ ለመግዛት እንዲፈቀድልን ነበር፤ ለመነጋገር ተጃንሆይ የተላክሁት። ያንጊዜ በገንዘባችንም ቢሆን መሳሪያ ለመግዛት አይፈቀድልንም ነበር።

ለ/ ዋሽንግተን እንደደረስኩ በመጀመሪያ ተፕሬዝዳንት አይዘናወር ጋር ታልተነጋገርኩ፤ ተሌላ አልነጋገርም አልኩ። ይኸውም፤ ሁሉንም ከላይ ለመጀመርና ለማስረዳት ነበር። እነሱ ግን እምቢ ብለው አምስት ቀን ቆየን። ይህንንም ያደረግሁት ለጉዳዩ ኢምፖርታንስ እንዲሰጡት ነው።

ሐ/ ፕሬዝዳንቱን ተቀብሎኝ ጉዳዮቻችንን በረጅሙ አስረዳሁት /ዝርዝሩ ብዙ ነው/፤ ኢምፕሬስ ሆነ።

መ/ እሱም ለውጭ ጉዳይ ሚኒስትሩ ዳላስ፤ እኔው ፊት ደውሎ፤ በቀጠሮው ስማው ብሎ ሪኮማንድ አደረገልኝ።

ሠ/ ተዳላስ ጋር ስንነጋገር በፊት በሰላም ጉባዔ ጊዜ የተነጋገርነውን አስታወስኩት፤ አትሞስፈሩም ደህና ሆነ፤ አስረዳሁ። እሱም፤ «እኛ ይገባናል፤ ግን ፔንታጎንን ነው ኮንቪንስ ማድረግ» አለኝ። እኔ የማኘሁን ነገር ትቼ፤ በርዳታ መልክ እንዲያደርጉልኝ ነበር የጠየቅሁት። ጀነራል ሙሉጌታ እንዲረዳኝ አስመጥቸው ነበር፤ ሁለታችን ብቻ ነበርን።

ረ/ ፔንታጎን እንዳስረዳ፤ ስቴት ዲፓርትማ አሰናድቶ፤ ትልቅ ስብሰባ ተደረገ፤ ብዙ ጀነራሎች ያሉበት። እነሱም ተብዙ ጥያቄና መልስ በኋላ ኢምፕሬስ ሆነው ፊቬሬብል መልስ ሰጡ።

ሰ/ ተስቴት ዲፓርትመንት ጋር ንግግሩ ቀጠለ።

ሀ/ የሚግ ጉዳይ ንግግር፤

ለ/ በያመቱ የሚሰጡን የመሣርያ እርዳታና

ሐ/ ቤዝ ጉዳይ /አሥመራ ያለው የቴሌኮሚኒኬሽን ሴንተር/።

ተዚህ በኋላ ሁለት ስምምነት ተፈረመ፤

- የእርዳታውና
- የአሥመራ የቴሌኮሚኒኬሽን ሴንተር። የጃንሆይ የፊልስቴሽን ቴሌግራም፤ ለኔ የተደረገ፤ አርካይቭ ይገኛል። ይህ ሁሉ መሣርያ ደክሜ ያመጣሁት መሆኑን ታሪክ ያስረዳል።

2/ መሣርያችንን በርዳታ ለመጨመር በየጊዜው የተደረገው ድካም

ሀ/ የጀነራል መርድ ጉብኝት በኩባ ክራዚ ጊዜያት

ለ/ በ1966 ጃንሆይ ያደረጉት ጉብኝት

- ተፕሬዝዳንት ኬኔዲ ጋር
- ሚሞራንደም
- ውጤት - F 5 – 8
- For training 2000 1b
- በ 66 ተፕሬዚዳን ጆንሰን ጋር። የነበሩት፡-
- ጀነራል ወልደ ሥላሴ፣ አቶ ከተማ፣ ዶክተር ምናሴ።
- በ 70 ከNixon ጋር። የነበሩት፡-
- ጀነራል ከበደ፣ ማሞ፣ ከተማ፣ምናሴ
- በ 73 ከNixon ጋር። የነበሩት፡-
- ጀነራል ከበደ፣ ጀነራል አሰፋ፣ ምናሴ ውጤት - እናጠናለን።

3/ ስለ ኡጋዴን ጉዳይ

- አጥንቶ እንዲያቀርብ (Conseil de defence 64?)
- ጀነራል ከበደ
- አሰፋ
- ድረሴ
- ገንዘብ
- የውጭ ጉዳይ
- ያገር ግዛት
- ብዙ ጊዜ ጉትጉቼ ከ7—8 ወር ድረስ፤ ግን ለሚያስችኩል ብለው ስድስት ሚሊዮን ጠይቀን ተፈቅዶ፣ ጥር 65።

4/ አሜሪካኖች የምንጠይቀውን አምጡ አሉን።

- በኋላ (defenue) ያቀረበው 400 million
- ይህንን እሥራ ላይ ለማዋል በምን ያህል ገንዘብ ሚኒስቴር ጠየቀ። ማቅረብ አቃታቸው አንድ አንድ በማለኘት እናጠናዋለን።
- የጃንሆይ ሽዚት ደረሰ።
- ውጤት /የ73 ጉብኝት/

5/ ጉዳዩ በጣም ተጓተተ፤

- ሚኒመም ንገሩኝ በማለት ታሰፋ ጋራ ተነጋገርንበት፤
- ተጀነራል ከበደም፤

- ተምናሴ ለማም ጋር። (ሜጫ)

6/ እኔው ለመሄድ አስፈቀድኩ፤

- ቀጠሮ ተጠየቀ፤
- መልሱ ሳይመጣ ክራዚ ሆነ።

ነሐሴ 1966



ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትር አክሊሉ ሀብተወልድ የሚያዝናናቸው ቢሾፍቱ ሆራ ሀይቅ ሄደው መዋኘት ነበር።

Aklilu Remembers

Historical recollections from a prison cell
Aklilu Habtewold
Prime Minister of Ethiopia, 1961–1974

Translated by
Getachew Tedla

Addis Ababa University Press

Contents

"If by killing us you could redeem Ethiopia from poverty, we then accept your action as a blessing"

Prime Minister *Tsehafe T'ezaz* Aklilu Habtewold's comment before being taken away to be shot to death on 24 November 1974, together with sixty other former officials of Emperor Haile Selassie's government.

(Recounted by *Ato* Ketema Yifru, *Mudaye*, First Year, No. 12, December 1992)

Preface

This is a translation of the political autobiography of the late Prime Minister *Tsehafe T'ezaz* Aklilu Habtewold, which was submitted to the Commission of Inquiry that was appointed by the leaders of the 1974 revolution. The purpose of this translation is to make Aklilu's memoir accessible to historians, researchers, and other interested people.

The original Amharic manuscript entitled "*Report of Prime Minister Tsehafe T'ezaz Aklilu Habtewold, on the request of the Inquiry Commission*," was written on *Meskerem* 10, 1967 (September 17, 1974) while the late Prime Minister was in detention. The fifty-seven pages report is compartmentalized into seventeen major topics, with sub-headings. Tinted with foreign words and expressions (French and English) the report is a reflection of Aklilu's erudition. As the statement was written while the Prime Minister was in the Derg's prison, hence without a hold to reference documents, some of Aklilu's views relied on his memory span, at times put in a nutshell. (*Derg*, an Amharic term with literal meaning committee, is adapted to mean the Coordinating Committee of the Armed Forces that took over power from the government of Emperor Haile Selassie).

In order to help the reader, I have addressed the document in the following manner.

- Wherever I felt that some of the names or phrases written in foreign languages (e.g. French) are unclear, I translated it word by word and placed a question mark in square bracket [?].
- "*Janhoy*" which is repeatedly mentioned in the original document is an Amharic synonym for Emperor Haile Selassie. Throughout the document an English equivalent of the term, "The Emperor" is used.
- The late Prime Minister often referred to the USSR government as "Moscow" and its officials as "Moscobite"; I have chosen to use

the term "Soviet Union" to the country and "Russian" to the official.

- Due to ambivalence in the use of Amharic terms, the interpretation of certain words required a phrase or lines of sentences for a satisfactory explanation while others sufficed with just one word. Nevertheless, all the topics are translated line by line in accordance with the original document.

An Ethiopian name consists of the person's own name, followed by that of his father, unlike European names where the second name is a surname. Thus Ketema Yefru's and Yilma Deressa's own names are Ketema and Yilma, and their fathers' names are Yefru and Deressa. The patronymic helps to prevent confusion with namesakes. It is quite correct to refer them simply as Ketema and Yilma without any hint of familiarity, whereas it is a mistake to call them Mr. Yefru or Mr. Deressa as this creates confusion with their father's. Moreover, Ethiopian religious names are a compound of two words: Wolde Gabriel, for example, means Son of Saint Gabriel and Haile Selassie means Power of the Trinity. In general usage, such names are sometimes written as one word and sometimes as two. In this text such names are printed as one word. It is a mistake to use either part of such a name alone.

The Ethiopian New Year, *Meskerem* 1, falls on 11th September according to the Gregorian calendar, and the system of counting is between seven and eight years behind the Gregorian calendar. In the translated version wherever the Ethiopian calendar is used the Gregorian equivalent is mentioned in square brackets.

Pertinent introductory quotes from the book of the distinguished American Professor John H. Spencer's *ETHIOPIA AT BAY: A Personal Account of the Haile Selassie Years;* and Professor Christopher Clapham's book *HAILE SELASSIE'S GOVERNMENT* give readers a foresight into Aklilu's political life narrated herein. A chronological list of Aklilu's main appointments and activities, drawn by Professor John H. Spencer, is a marvellous illustration of the late Prime Minister's

commitment to national duty. A list of prominent Ethiopian personalities that are mentioned in the document is keyed at the end of the document.

To concentrate merely on the translation is limited to only background information.

I would like to take this opportunity to duly acknowledge the people who encouraged me to translate the authentic document. Very special thanks goes to my father, *Ato* Tedla Abebe, for providing me a copy of the document. Equally enormous thanks also goes to *Weyzero* Tersit Akalework who gave me beautiful pictures and valuable documents of the late Prime Minister, Aklilu Habtewold. I am very grateful to Professor Sven Rubenson for reading the first draft of the translation and for useful comments and suggestions he contributed. I am also indebted to Professor John H. Spencer for the details of Aklilu's career, which I have listed in the introduction. I sincerely extend my appreciation to Dr. Tadesse Zerihun who assisted me in translating, and gave me useful advice in finding the actual meaning and sense of the Amharic terminology.

Notwithstanding some difficulties in interpretation, I have attempted to the best of my ability to maintain the translation in direct correspondence with the original document.

I want to express my gratitude to Addis Ababa University Press and its employees for their professional support and finally for publishing the book.

Getachew Tedla (PhD)
Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

Introduction

The Provisional Military Government (PMG) took control of the country from Emperor Haile Selassie's administration in 1974. Subsequently, former government officials were detained and a Commission of Inquiry was set up to investigate for abuse of power, corruption, mismanagement and/or maladministration. Some of the officials, including Prime Minister Aklilu, were interviewed and their statement was made public on radio and other media. The detained officials were ordered to write their autobiography emphasizing on their career and achievements as civil servants. It was then assumed that after the investigation was completed, the Inquiry Commission would hand over this material to the tribunal. None of the officials were tried, however. In one of the saddest incidents of Ethiopian history, Prime Minister Aklilu Habtewold was executed by the *Derg* (military junta) on 24 November 1974, along with sixty other officials of Emperor Haile Selassie's government.

Aklilu Habtewold was born on March 12, 1912. His father, Aleqa Habtewold Kabteneh and his mother *Weyzero* Yadegdegu Felfelu were of Bulga descent, from Shewa region. Aleqa Habtewold was a devoted clergyman of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. Aklilu was the youngest son of the Habtewold family. He completed his Amharic grammar and Ge'ez studies at Saint Raguel Church in Addis Ababa before he was exposed to modern education. The eldest son, Mekonnen, who had great loyalty to Emperor Haile Selassie, was responsible for educating his two younger brothers. It could be mentioned here that both of Aklilu's brothers, Mekonnen and Akalework Habtewold, were also influential officials in the former Imperial Ethiopian Government. Aklilu was married to a French lady, Madame V. Collet, whom he met in Paris while presusing his college study. Madam Collet was the source of

Aklilu's income and survival during the hard times of the Second World War. A biography of Aklilu has yet to be written.

Two extracts from important books on the reign of Haile Selassie, however, gives us a glimpse of Aklilu's personality and his role in tying up the nation together after the colonial expulsion. One of the most knowledgeable persons with regard to Ethiopian government and its foreign relations during the period when Aklilu was Foreign Minister was the distinguished American Professor John H. Spencer. In his book *ETHIOPIA AT BAY: A Personal Account of the Haile Selassie Years* (1984, pp. 115-117) he characterizes Aklilu as follows.

> Aklilou was of an average weight and height but with very broad shoulders which, he claimed, he had developed through his passion for swimming. Like his brothers he had the typical bronze skin of the Amhara and the Roman nose. He had spent years in Egypt at the French Lycee in Alexandria before going to Paris to obtain his law degree, which he completed at the Faculté de Droit. ... He was remarkably clear and logical thinker and a formidable antagonist in encounters with foreign representatives. ... {He had} keen mind, legal training and powerful memory. ... Aklilou married a French woman, Collet, who stoically endured a long period of ostracism from a race-conscious court and who provided him with the Parisian ambiance to which he was so deeply attached. ... Throughout his life, Aklilou remained profoundly pro-French. This attitude was not due, solely, to his background. There was also the fact that with the exception of the period of the Italo-Ethiopian war, France had always supported Ethiopia in her struggle with the British. Aklilou's strong French sympathies enabled him intellectually to dismiss treason and to look to France for help in the developing struggles with Britain. ... During the decade of the 1960s, his strongly pro-French

> policies ensured to Ethiopia's benefit in developing French opposition to the attempts by Somalia to size the Djibouti territory. ... Aklilou's relation with the British was governed by total suspicion, a mistrust strangely enhanced to a degree by the efforts of Ambassador Lascelles to master the Amharic language. Despite the great measure of assistance extended to Ethiopia by the United States, Aklilou also remained mistrustful of United States policies and officials. ... Aklilou was in many ways the most Europeanized of all those surrounding the Emperor. ... He was universally respected for his quick intelligence and persuasive discourse, and for the fact that he never amassed a fortune in office. (Unlike others, Aklilou sent no money abroad with the consequence that his widow had to live in France in straightened circumstances). At the same time, he was resented for his greater knowledge of European psychology, wiles, and designs, and for the favouritism that the Emperor showed him.

A British specialist on Ethiopian affairs, Professor Christopher Clapham in his book *HAILE SELASSIE'S GOVERNMENT* (1969, pp. 131-32) has the following to say about Aklilu.

> Bitwadad Mekonnen's successor was the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Aklilu Habte-Wold, who took over as acting Prime Minister, and was appointed full Prime Minister in 1961. His ten years in office have seen the gradual growth of an institutional premiership, which has owed comparatively little to traditional organization and techniques. ... Aklilu is the type of the career civil servant. He came from a Church family, and reached high office under the protection of his elder and more powerful brother, Mekonnen Habta-Wold. But his background was very different from Mekonnen's for he was educated in France and is married to a French-woman, and as a result he is regarded by some as more French than

Ethiopian; certainly his administrative methods are rather more French than those of most of his contemporaries. ... His European methods naturally suited him for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which he directed continuously from October 1943 until April 1958. He took the leading part in all of the more important diplomatic negotiations, including the British Agreement of 1944 and the Federation with Eritrea, and was also on a great many government boards and commissions. This long concern with foreign affairs brought him much into contact with the Emperor, but he tried to remain aloof from intrigues and factions within the government, and he is said to have been an irregular attendee at the Council of Ministers during his years at Foreign Affairs. ... He is thus a competent but unassertive administrator, content to improve his position little by little, without trying to upset the balance of power within the government. He is not corrupt, but he enjoys the comforts of office, and has taken no rash step, which might jeopardize them. In the ten years since his appointment, Aklilu's position has steadily improved. In 1957, he was not even the first among equals, and it is only since the revolt of December 1960 that he has become the major figure of the government. With the death as hostage of several important politicians, Aklilu then emerged as the Emperor's chief adviser, and it has since become usual for important policy matters to be discussed in advance between them. He has also profited from the general decline since 1960 in traditional methods and factional intrigue, since his European training and lack of personal machine suit him to a more modern form of government. ... Though increases in his formal powers had been canvassed ever since the failure of the December revolt, it was not until March 1966 that these were implemented, and the Prime Minister received the power to select other ministers. These changes have had no dramatic results, but

> they marked the emergence of Aklilu as a second–in–authority only to the Emperor.
>
> The growth in Aklilu's position since 1960 can be seen in a number of ways. One of the most striking is the manner in which he takes over much of the general co-ordination of government affairs during the increasingly frequent absences abroad of the Emperor, and visitors to the Prime Ministry include important officials, such as the Minister of Defence. ... A good deal of co-coordinating work goes to the Prime Minister even when the Emperor is at home, and he has adjudicated disputes. ... He has gained further co-coordinating functions through his chairmanship of the Council of Ministers, and his feeling for consensus and his lack of self-assertion have suited him for such work as this. He has naturally both consulted and been consulted by the Emperor over important questions such as appointments, and he has also taken over from the Emperor some supervision of administrative detail.

The career of Prime Minister Aklilu Habtewold, from 1941 to 1966, is summarized by Professor John H. Spencer as follows.

- 1941, return from exile in Europe and appointment as Vice Minister of Pen.
- 1943, involved in the preparation of a draft treaty which would replace the Anglo-Ethiopian Agreement of 31 January 1942.
- 1943 October, appointment as Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs.
- 1943 November 2, negotiations with the United States on the introduction of a new Ethiopian currency.
- 1944 January-April, continued work on documentation and diplomatic mimeographs to the council of foreign ministers of the four great powers.

- 1944 April 1, address to the United States Legation following negotiations with the United States on the introduction of a new monetary system, including the minting of silver and copper coins as well as the printing of banknotes.
- 1944 May 25, denunciation of the Anglo-Ethiopian Agreement of 31 January 1942 to oblige the British Government to stop the negotiations to replace the agreement. On the same note of denunciation, Aklilu included a demand for the transfer of the railway administration to Ethiopia.
- 1944 September 26, arrival in Addis Ababa of the mission of Lord De La War for the opening of the negotiations.
- 1944 November 5, breakdown of negotiations because of Britain's demand for ceding Ogaden to Great Britain.
- 1944 December 19, signature of the Anglo-Ethiopian agreement replacing the one of 31 January, 1942.
- 1945 April, Egypt requests permission from Aklilu to make a survey of the Baro river basin.
- 1945 April–June, conference of the United Nations in San Francisco. The Charter was signed by Aklilu on 26 June 1945.
- 1945 July 15, signature by Aklilu on the concession of petrol from Sinclair in New York.
- 1945 September, signature of an agreement with TWA for the establishment of the Ethiopian Airlines.
- 1945, the start of negotiations with the United Kingdom on the boundary between Ethiopia and Kenya.
- 1946 March, discussions were held in London on the subject of Lake Tana.
- 1946 May 4, final agreement for the handover of the railway line by a French company, between Aklilu and de Besson.

- 1946 July–September, the Paris Peace Conference Aklilu as chief of delegation: Eritrea, Somalia, reparations, crimes of war, Italian property in Ethiopia, national archives and treasures taken by the Italian from Ethiopia.
- 1946 October–November, negotiations on the borders with Kenya.
- 1947 January, presentation of Ethiopia's demands with regard to Eritrea and Somalia to a meeting of Foreign Ministers in London.
- 1947 April, Anglo-Egyptian attempts on the subject of Lake Tana and on the construction of Nile dam in order to preserve the waters of Lake Albert and Lake Victoria.
- 1947, very difficult negotiations with the British Government in relation to its objection to giving the concession to Sinclair for oil exploration in the Ogaden.
- 1947, agreement on the boundary with Kenya.
- 1948, problems of the Nile – discussions with Great Britain and Egypt.
- 1949 July, appointed as Minister of Foreign Affairs.
- 1949, the entire year was devoted to the problems of Eritrea.
- 1949 November, Aklilu refrained from giving a reply to Egypt's question concerning Lake Tana in order to show that such a question does not have any bearing on the subject of Eritrea in the UN.
- 1950 September–December, interrupted negotiations at the UN in NY for the drafting of Resolution 390 V of 2nd December establishing the federation of Eritrea with Ethiopia.
- 1951, continuous negotiations with the Commission of the United Nations in Eritrea on the subject of federation.

- 1951, negotiations with Great Britain and Egypt on the question of the River Nile.
- 1952, continuous negotiations with Commission of the UN in Eritrea on the subject of federation.
- 1952, establishment of diplomatic relations with Italy.
- 1952, negotiations with the British administration in Eritrea for the handover of public installations.
- 1952 September 15, implementation of the federation of Eritrea with Ethiopia.
- 1953 April–May, negotiations in Washington for military assistance agreement for Ethiopia and another agreement allowing the establishment of an American center of communication around Asmara (*kagnew*); these two agreements were signed on the 22nd May 1955.
- 1953 September–December, the first draft of the revised constitution; and negotiation with Italy on the subject of national boundary lines.
- 1954 November, signature of the Franco-Ethiopian agreement on the boundary around the area of Lake Afambo.
- 1954 November 29, Anglo-Ethiopian agreement (London) for the withdrawal of British forces from the reserved zones of the Ogaden.
- 1954, negotiations with Italy on the border with Somalia.
- 1955 February 28, the last British military unit left Ethiopian soil, for the first time since 1934; Ethiopia got rid of foreign military forces from its territory.
- 1955 November 2, the National Jubilee celebration and promulgation of the Revised Constitution.

- 1956 April 12-24, Dodds-Parker mission: attempt of Great Britain to buy the reserved zones: attempt failed.
- 1956 September 2, Aklilu leaves for Cairo as a member of the committee of five: USA, Australia, Iran, Ethiopia and Sweden.
- 1957, deliberation on the question of the Nile with Egypt.
- 1957 September 25, Ethio-Sudanese agreement on defence.
- 1957 November, appointed Deputy Prime Minister.
- 1958 July 7, Anglo-Ethiopian agreement on civil aviation.
- 1959 November 12, Franco-Ethiopian agreement on the railway line.
- 1960 January 16-28, consultations between Hammarskjold and Aklilu in Mitswa on the subject of borders with Somalia.
- 1961 April 17, Aklilu became Prime Minister.
- 1962 December 15, end of the federation with Eritrea.
- 1963 May, constitutional conference of the OAU (May 25 the Charter was signed).
- 1964 July 24, Resolution 16 (1) of the OAU concerning the dispute between Ethiopia and Somalia regarding borders.
- 1965, the whole year was devoted on the question of national development.
- 1966 March 23, Aklilu was henceforth to form his own ministerial cabinet.

Written statement submitted to the Commission of Inquiry by *Tsehafe T'ezaz* Aklilu Habtewold

September 17, 1974
Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

"I wrote the following account in prison while under detention by the provisional Military Government. As I was not given the opportunity to see documents and other supporting facts, it is possible that I might have missed a number of pertinent issues, which ought to have been highlighted. Nevertheless, what is recorded here is based on factual events, which can be proved with the help of extant documents."

Tsehafe T'ezaz Aklilu Habtewold

Educational Background

A. I was born on *Megabit* 5, 1904 (March 12, 1912), and completed my Amharic language studies at Saint Raguel Church.
B. After attending Menelik School in Addis Ababa for three years, I was sent in 1925 to the *Lycée* (French Grammar School) in Alexandria, Egypt, to continue my studies.
C. I attended courses from 1925 to 1931; upon completion I received a Bachelor degree.
D. Then I moved on and I joined the famous university, the Sorbonne. I read Law and took courses in Advanced Commercial Studies and Political Science. Having completed my studies from 1931 to 1936, I received the following degrees:
   - L.L.B in Law (*Licence en droit*)
   - Post-Doctoral Diploma in Public Law (*Diplôme de Doktorat en Droit Public*)
   - Post-Doctoral Diploma in Economics (*Diplôme de Doktorat en Économique)*
   - Advanced Certificate of Commerce (*Certificat d'Étude Superieures Commercials*)
   - Certificate in Political Science.

1

Involvement in Political Activities

1.1 *Lycée* in Alexandria

During the time I attended school at the French *Lycée* in Alexandria, Egypt, the country's Coptic-Orthodox church Patriarch His Holiness Johannes made an official visit to Ethiopia. He gave scholarships to sixty young Ethiopians to study in Egypt. After they arrived in Egypt the patriarch complained that he had requested only for six students but he was given sixty. Later on, the students faced great problems regarding board and lodging, and in getting adequate clothing.

From their school in Cairo, three students representing the group came to see us in Alexandria and lamented, "As you can see, we are living in dire condition, we are starved, and consequently fall sick, and we do not have spare clothes. We beg you to help us to get relief from the desperation." Some twenty of us at the *Lycée* in Alexandria collected our spare clothes and sent it to them. I had sent a telegram to the Crown Prince, *Ras* Teferi Mekonnen, who at the time was regent and heir to the throne, stating all the problems the students were facing and requesting that everything possible to be done to get them out of the impoverishment.

During the hot season and vacation periods the Egyptian government moves its office from Cairo to Alexandria. Incidentally, the office had moved to Alexandria at the time. Along with one of my friends, Meshesha Hailu (who now become a Member of Parliament), we went to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and demanded to see the Minister. After a long wrangling they allowed us in. The official we met

whose name I cannot recall was in fact the Minister of Communication and Acting Foreign Affairs Minister. Incidentally, he was a Copt.

We explained to him the reason of our visit. We reminded him that his government has the responsibility of taking care of for the student's health, clothing and accommodation; otherwise, they should be sent back to Ethiopia. If the negligence continues and let the students go on miserable and sick, we told the Minister, the relationship between the Ethiopian and Egyptian Orthodox Christian churches could be watered down and possibly be interrupted. We also assured the Minister that we, the current students, were going to be the future leaders of Ethiopia and would not forget any such calamity.

The Egyptian Minister was touched by the students suffering. He told us that he was travelling back to Cairo and we should also go there and bring the students with us to meet the Patriarch. He added, if our compliant was canard, we would all be in trouble and this we assented. On the day of the appointment, his Holiness the Patriarch was surprised to see us with the students he brought from Ethiopia. I and Meshesha Hailu translated the discourse between the Minister and the students. The Minister posed some questions to the students through us to which they replied. I tried hard to get the Minister understand the heart-rending sufferance of the students. Finally, the Minister realized the condition was as bad as I had told him. In that moment his protocol told him that a telegram from Addis Ababa had reached King Faruq. The message urged the government of Egypt to send the sick students to hospital and the rest back home if the government is unable to ensure their safety. The Minister and the Patriarch conferred for a while and ordered:

a) that the students should be fed properly,
b) that they should be given a reasonable stipend, and

c) to buy them each two sets of clothes. (It was agreed that the clothes should be bought while we were still in Cairo to assist the treasurer in the purchases.)

As agreed, we went to a shop with the treasurer and bought the students some clothes. (I still remember the students choosing quite expensive clothes, reddening the treasurer's eyes at every choice. Settling the dust thus I went back to Alexandria. The Headmaster of the school had left a message for me asking that I should see him. When I drop at his office, he furiously shouted at me that I was a pupil, and not a politician, who could travel to Cairo. He told me that no refund of my expenses would be paid. This was bad news as I had borrowed some money from my fellow foreign students.

For six months things seemed improving and the students lived in better conditions. After a while, we received another message that said the situation had relapsed. When we check, we realized they nearly were in a saddening situation. This time there was not much we could do. I immediately sent a telegram to the Emperor stating the students' misery. Our consul in Jerusalem, *Ato* Paulos, arrived in Cairo at the executive order of His Majesty and arranged for the students' return to Addis Ababa.

Some of the students I still remember include Feleke Ergetu (now *Kegnazmach*), Zewde Gebrehiwot (now *Birwoded*), Tefera Seyefu, Tefera Sheshu, and Woldemariam Haile (now General). (*Ato* Mashesha Hailu and General Woldemariam have deeper knowledge about this history).

1.2 Events during my last days at Sorbonne University

It was Mussolini's agreement with France that gave him the impetus to invade Ethiopia. France is an old friend and traditionally supporter of Ethiopia. This is mainly because of the Addis Ababa–Djibouti railway line, which was constructed by the French. For example, when the Emperor and his entourage toured Europe in 1924, he established a makeshift at Paris and it was from there he had visited London, Rome and Stockholm.

Because France feared the rise of Hitler and Mussolini, French Prime Minister Pierre Laval wanted to lure Italia away from Germany Ethiopia as a gift. Mossoloni tied an agreement with France by which France conceded not to object Italian deeds on Ethiopia including the country's occupation. It should be recalled that from the very beginning, when Ethiopia appealed to the League of Nations of an imminent invasion, France sabotaged to have Ethiopia's appeal overlooked, and when Italy declared war on Ethiopia, France advocated Italy.

During this period, election to the French Parliament was in progress. The three main parties, the Radical Socialist Party, the Socialist Party, and the Communist Party, were determined to topple the government of *Monsieur* Laval. They were led by prominent politicians like *Messieurs* Edouard Herriot, Léon Blum and Maurice Thorez. Taking advantage of the situation, I explained to all three parties that:

- Ethiopia was threatened by occupation;
- we had appealed to the League of Nations;
- by betraying Ethiopia Laval wanted to please Mussolini, and had weakened the objective of the Collective Security. Moreover, he tried to hinder Ethiopia's appeal to the League of Nations, and

supported the aggressive leadership of Mussolini and Hitler, thereby speeding up the World War.

I revealed to all parties my interest to speak at their rallies. I knew that this was a wind fallen chance to bring the nature of the threat before us to the attention of the French people and to the rest of the world. After some discussion, they allowed me to make as many speeches as I wished at their public meetings. When opportunity occurred I was free to deliver speeches about Ethiopia and the Italian aggression. I warned the French people that if no action was taken, France and other defenceless countries would soon face the same fate as Ethiopia was experiencing.

On one particular day I made three speeches, each at different venues of the parties. Surprisingly, I was given a seat among the parties' leaders. They all introduced me, "as representative whose country was the victim of Italian aggression, and an Ethiopian who was present to publicly explain the current situation in Ethiopia." The next day, French newspapers, according to their political allegiance, published stories quoting my speech and describing me Aklilu Habtewold, a representative of the Ethiopian elite, workers, and the armed forces had made the following speech. ... (Copies of these newspapers can be found in France).

At the end of the gruelling campaign, Laval's party lost to Blum's Socialist Party. Winning majority seats in parliament, the Socialist Party formed a coalition with other political organizations known as "*Front Populaire*," and took over the leadership of the French government. In the meantime, Italian forces had invaded Ethiopia and the Emperor went into exile to London.

When I spoke with Prime Minister Léon Blum, he gave me his console about the Italian invasion. He said that Italy took over Ethiopia

before his party ascended to power. Nevertheless, he assured me that France would never recognize Italy's occupation of Ethiopia. Unfortunately, the other powerful nations including Britain had recognized Italy's occupation of Ethiopia.

During the five years before World War II started, I remained in Paris as an Officer-in-Charge of the Ethiopian Embassy. The embassy issued passports to all Ethiopian refugees besides giving other consular services. Whenever the French government prepares an official invitation, the Officer-in-Charge of the Ethiopian Embassy was naturally invited. For instance, when the King and the Queen of Great Britain made an official visit to France in 1938, all resident ambassadors were invited; I also attended the welcoming ceremony where we were supposed to greet the royal couple. According to the protocol arrangements, Ethiopian and Italian ambassadors were to sit side by side.

When the Italian ambassador saw that I was seated next to him, he was very annoyed and started shouting madly at me. Enraged, I shouted back even angrily. Everyone watched the fracas. The Chief of Protocol immediately placed an official from the Foreign Affairs Ministry to seat in between. At the evening dinner reception, the new protocol arrangement was preserved. All delegates were evasive of being seen with me by the Italian. However, the president of the parliament, President Herriot along with Prime Minister Léon Blum came to me, hold my hand, and led me to the buffet. We had a meticulous discussion of the current Ethiopian situation. Both statesmen assured me that they would stand by Ethiopia in every possible way.

The next day, I reported to His Majesty the Emperor, who was in London, about the discussion. Indeed, both statesmen and their party kept their promise to the end in supporting Ethiopia. In recognition of his

support, the Emperor had decorated President Edouard Herriot with the *Sellasie Cordone*.

1.3 Briefing Journalists and Establishing Committees

Propaganda was one of the prime means of warfare. Italian propaganda was channelled through newspapers, radio, and cinema disseminating offensive opinions about Ethiopians as primitive, slave traders, akin to wild animals, etc. They claimed that their mission in Ethiopia was to modernize the country and introduce a civilized way of life.

As a result, the French public sympathized with Italy's camouflaged intention. I set out on a massive counter campaign to percolate Ethiopia's case to all concerned officials, the media and to the public at large. I, therefore, accomplished the following.

a) I had intimate ties with many journalists which paves the way to explain them the reality. I evidenced that Ethiopia is a Christian country since many past centuries and because of its unique civilization, the nation had maintained its independence for a long period. I also demolished that Italian incrimination of slave trading was fictious by drawing on numerous facts and concrete evidences. The next day newspapers, particularly publications of the three main parties, published a report of my statement.

b) My close friends *Monsieur* Jean Goulet (later he joined the Ministry of Information in Ethiopia and started a French-language newspaper) and some other French journalists assisted me to form two committees that would facilitate the advocacy work. The committees organize mass gatherings and we elucidated the meeting about fascist animosities.

When the war started, some countries sent Red Cross teams to Ethiopia. Likewise, the French Red Cross asked its government permission to send a delegation to Ethiopia; but the French government denied the permission. Instead, it collected financial contributions and amenities (beds, clothes), put together a volunteer medical doctor's team, and sent a non-governmental mission under the leadership of *Monsieur* Jean Goulet. The French benevolence was greatly admired and acknowledged by the Secretary of the Ethiopian Red Cross, *Ato* Akalework Habtewold.

Upon the delegate's return, a big meeting was held to hear their report. *Monsieur* Jean Goulet declared that he had not seen any evidence of slave trade in Ethiopia, and that he was impressed to discover Ethiopians being more free and civilized than the invading Italians. The remark commended a warm applause.

c) With the support of these two committees, a newspaper entitled "*Nouvelles d'Ethiopie*" (*News of Ethiopia*) was established. Its objective was to inculcate Ethiopia's cause, and the barbarity of Italians. I had contributed various articles to this newspaper I have one copy of this newspaper in my archive. The two committees are named *Comité d'action Ehtiopie*, and *Assie du peuple Ethoipie*.

1.4 Appointment to the League of Nations

Even though I was quite young and pursuing my college study, observing my keen interest and commitment the Emperor appointed me Permanent Secretary of the Ethiopian delegation to the League of Nations at Geneva. The delegation was led by *Fitawrari* Teklehawariat Wayeh, who was the Ethiopian Minister in Paris. We both used to attend the meetings and presented our orientation to the League members. The well-known political scientist and my former instructor, Professor

Gaston Jeze was a special advisor to the delegation. I still have the written permit issued by the Swiss Government on March 13, 1935 in my archive.

Later, *Belatengeta* Woldemarian replaced *Fitawrari* Teklehawariat. The Emperor sent a telegram to Teklehawariat effecting my appointment as Press Attaché at the Ethiopian Embassy in Paris. However, the newly appointed minister refused to acknowledge my appointment.



Aklilu was engaged in highest government posts before he turned twenty.

In spite of his rejection, I performed my press attaché duties from the hotel room where I resided, giving briefings and interviews to journalists. For instance, *Monsieur* Laval, the Prime Minister of France and the British Foreign Affairs Minister, [Sir Samuel] Hoare held talks which resulted in the *"Hoare-Laval Pact"*. The pact consists of the following conspiratorial accord.

"To bring peace between Italy and Ethiopia, the best solution is to detach a portion of the country– Harer, Sidamo, and Bale provinces – as Italian colonial land, and to keep the Ethiopian boundary restricted to the Amhara areas, namely, Gonder, Gojam, and Tigre..."

Viewing this as the ultimate solution for a peaceful settlement of the disagreement between the two countries, they disclosed their plan to the Emperor through their respective ambassadors. As soon as I learnt of the covenant from the Emperor, I leaked to the famous journalist *Madame* Rapatel Tabouis, who was the Director of the Radical Party's newspaper of the plot. She immediately scooped the news and headed to London where there was greater freedom of the press. She exposed the conspiracy through various newspapers and radio programmes. Consequently, British newspapers gave high priority to the story and stated that the *Hoare-Laval Pact* legitimized aggression and could endanger the ideals of the Collective Security Agreement.

An intense disagreement broke out in the British parliament and Hoare was asked to explain his action. He explained the issues in tears, and said he made this agreement simply to save Ethiopia from further humiliation and conquest. He further stated as no country would protect Ethiopia from the aggressor, he was earnestly trying to help end the controversy. With this defence, he apologized in public for his deeds. The world also contradicted the pact. As the Emperor strongly refused to

make a deal on this matter the whole idea was dropped from further consideration.

While I entirely committed myself to perusing my country's affairs, my main support concerning daily routines, accommodation, and food was provided by my girlfriend, (who eventually became my wife) *Mademoiselle* Colette. She had just completed her studies and was teaching. I relied on her for financial backing. She earns a modest salary and also received monetary support from her father.

I read in a newspaper report that after the battle at Maychew, the Emperor would proceed to Gore to continue the war with the invading Italians. I realized that there was not much we could achieve at the League of Nations. The only option that was left to us was to expel the enemy by force. I decided to travel to Gore and join the Emperor's army. The only possible means of travel was to fly by Royal Airlines to Sudan, and then to take a boat down the Nile River to Gambela. With the assistance of my current wife *Madam* Colette, who was generous enough to give me money and to solicit contributions from our close friends *Monsieur* Lukas, Denia, Lugar, Nif etc.), I bought the air ticket. *Monsieur* Lukas decided to go with me to the warfront. We bought the necessary equipment for our trip, such as tents, medicine etc. Two days before our departure, we read in a newspaper that the Emperor had arrived at Djibouti on his way to London. As we were in the dark on the Emperor's movements, we were saddened and lost all hope. We were thus obliged to cancel our trip.

1.5 *Monsieur* Marcel Griaule

The famous French author *Monsieur* Griaule had published many novels. He had also travelled to Ethiopia and visited many places in the country including the province of Gonder. When he returned to his country, he

published a book entitled "*Flambeurs d'Hommes*" (Those who burn people). In this novel he wrote, "In Ethiopia, in earlier times, one method of criminal punishment was to dress the convict with wax-soaked cloth and burn him alive".

For the Italians this statement was a fodder for propaganda. Together with other documents and books, they presented this statement to the League of Nations in an attempt to cast Ethiopians as savage and barbarian. *Monsieur* Griaule was very annoyed that his novel was wickedly misused; he travelled personally to Geneva to protest at the League's summit. He informed the delegates that this book was a total fiction and the idea of incineration was used purely to give a romantic glamour to the story. In fact, he became one of the strong proponents of Ethiopia. Afterwards, we often met and discussed matters relating to Ethiopia. I realized that a distinguished writer like Griaule could be made a key purveyor of counter propaganda if he was personally briefed by the Emperor himself about the Italian aggression. He would then be able to propagate our cause to a larger public.

I contacted the Emperor, who was in Jerusalem, and suggested to his majesty to explain the course of the battle and Italian cruelty to Griaule so that he could write out the atrocity. The Emperor agreed and instructed me to send Griaule to him. We collected money, purchased a plane ticket and sent him to Jerusalem. He received an audience and travelled with the Emperor in a British warship to Gibraltar. He took down everything the Emperor had told him.

When he came back, he was quite impressed and was more sympathetic towards the Ethiopian position. A few days after his return, *Monsieur* Griaule published a booklet entitled "*From the Emperor's Mouth*", (*Neuillies de la bouche me'me de S.M.L. Empereur Haile Sellassie)*. In this work he outlined in detail the aggression of the Fascist

Italian forces against Ethiopia. He recounted how churches and residential houses were burnt down; the Italians, equipped with modern armaments and aeroplanes, had exterminated the barefooted Ethiopians, who had only a handful of conventional firearms. He inquired, how those who claimed to spread civilization were destroying a country and its people. The booklet dominated public opinion and many were so grieved that they even wept publicly when they read the account. After the distribution of the booklet throughout Europe, the vast majority of Europeans gave strong support to the Emperor and to Ethiopia. A symposium was held at Geneva in support of the Ethiopian cause.

Even though, the Italians were breaking their back making a prolonged propaganda campaign to legitimize their invasion, their effort turned out futile. In the end, many people realized that the barbaric savages were the Italians, while the civilized people were the Ethiopians. This booklet is available in Europe; a copy is available in the Emperor's personal library too.

2

Appointment to the Ethiopian Embassy in Paris

When the Emperor arrived in London in 1936, I flew to England to meet him and avowed that I was at his disposal to serve my country in every possible way. I briefed him about the situation in Europe, the growing attitudes towards Ethiopia, and about what had been accomplished. I presented for his majesty's consideration a novel set of diplomatic programme and strategies which I devised employing my rich experience, and the advice of some of Europe's renowned politicians (such as President Herriot Porjeze [?] and *Monsieu* Marcel Griaule…). At the discussion, *Ato* Woldegiorgis Woldeyohannes, Doctor Lorenzo Taezaz and the American advisor, John Spencer were also present.



During the invasion of Ethiopia by fascist Italy Aklilu is here seen welcoming Emperor Haile Selassie at a Paris railway station.

Shortly after the discussion, in April 1936, the Emperor appointed me to take over from the Secretary of our embassy in Paris, *Ato* Alemu Chekol, and to carry on with my previous duties parallely. *Ato* Ephrem Teweldemedhen (later given the title of *Blata*) was instructed to accompany me to Paris carrying the Emperor's letter, and explain verbally the appointment to *Blatengeta* Woldemarian. This order was made because of the previous refusal by *Blatengeta* Woldemariam to accept my appointment as Press Attaché at our embassy in Paris.

Ato Alemu was transferred to Jerusalem when I took over the secretarial post. Shortly after I resumed my duty, *Blatengeta* Woldemariam skived off work on the pretext that he was seriously ill. Consequently, whenever the Emperor came to Paris or travelled to Geneva, I was a sole aid to make the necessary arrangements with the French government for him. In the autobiography written by the Emperor (*My Life and Ethiopia's Progress)*, a picture showed me receiving the Emperor in Paris.

2.1. Defection of *Blatengeta* Woldemariam

As *Blatengeta* Woldemariam continuously failed to attend to his duties citing poor health, I had to shoulder all the responsibilities and execute all the activities of Officer-in-Charge. For the next three months, I sit in meetings with French government officials, issued passport, and took care of routine business at the embassy.

I was performing all the aforementioned tasks when on one particular day at about 6:00 p.m. a correspondent of the French news agency, Agance Havas, telephoned me and asked me if I was aware of the defection of our Minister, *Blatengeta* Woldemariam. When I answered I am ignorant of the news, the reporter explained to me that the Minister was actually seen at the Italian Embassy. Not believing what I

had been told, I rushed to Woldemariam's residence. At home were his wife and children. I asked them if he was in. They replied that they did not know where he was. (I knew they were lying since the children greeted me with the fascist hand salute, which gave me a hint of their father's defection). However, I decided to wait for him, sat in the sofa reading newspapers. He came two hours later. He was astonished to see me as this was my first visit to his residence. His astonishment changed into a shock watching me reading newspapers, and abruptly asked if the matter was already published. I said yes, and affirmed that he could not hide his betrayal. I asked him to tell me everything honestly. Replying he said, "What can I do? I have children to bring up and I own many houses in Addis Ababa. You are educated; you could easily earn your living. I have no options as such."

I enquired if he believed the Italians were in Ethiopia to protect his possessions from being confiscated. As he had left Ethiopia, I contended, with a cartload of money, it was a grave mistake to humiliate the honour of his country and his people by siding with the Italians. I implored him to change his mind. He refused my plea lured by Graziani's promise to give him three million Italian Lire in addition to returning his confiscated properties and houses in Ethiopia. I asked him to come with me to our embassy and talk with the Emperor by phone. He was afraid to talk on the telephone, assuming Mussolini might tap their conversation. Angrily, I told him that the Ethiopian Embassy had diplomatic immunity and as it belonged to Ethiopia nothing could happen to him if he followed my advice. His wife also begged him to listen to my advice and finally he came with me to our embassy.

From the embassy we phoned the Emperor, who was in Geneva attending the League of Nations deliberation, where the survival of sovereign Ethiopia was a subject of discussion. I explained to the Emperor the situation in Paris. He asked me to put Woldemariam on the

phone. The Emperor said, "We wanted to inform you of the good news that the League of Nations has now decided that the national integrity of Ethiopia is still intact."

Speechless as the Minister was, the Emperor instantly inquired about the activities in Paris. After a moment's hesitation, the Minister replied, "I have surrendered to the Italians and have given them my support."

Amazed by the Minister's statement, the Emperor asked if he had not benefited from his country, and if he had forgotten all the favours rendered to him. The Emperor also wondered why the Minister attempted to spoil the proud history of Ethiopia at such a critical moment. "If you have made up your mind, would it not be better to give in after resigning your post, without smearing the nation's history?" the Emperor demanded to know. The Minister briskly said, "I have already done it. It's final." He walked away leaving the phone unhooked. I picked it up, urged the Emperor to give me three more days to try again to convince the Minister. The Emperor said, "It's a good idea. But I do not think he would change his mind."

I walked to the gate of my embassy office. There, an army of journalists swarmed me who rattled out questions. One asked me, "Ethiopia gained victory in Geneva, but Italy gained another victory in Paris by luring Ethiopian diplomats, the Chief Secretary and all other staff to defect. Is that right?" Before responding, I asked the journalists how they had come to conclude that everyone working at the embassy have sided with Italy. The reply came, "*Blatengeta* Woldemariam had announced of his support for the Italians not only on his behalf, but also on behalf of the rest of the diplomatic staff." I definitely affirmed that was a misapprehension. I expressed my willingness to give a press statement and interviews to both radio and newspapers. When the

journalists heard my denial, brisk smile brushed their faces. I made the following announcement.

> There is an unconfirmed report of Ethiopian Minister *Blatengeta* Woldemariam's defection to Italy. I have no evidence to confirm this to you. I, Aklilu Habtewold, Secretary of the Ethiopian embassy, would like to say the following to prevent further schumbles. Speaking on behalf of the entire staff, I would like to confirm our unfragmented loyalty to our country, and to the Emperor. We will also continue our struggle against the Italian aggressor. If the Minister has defected as said, then he must have done it personally, not on behalf of the remaining staff. Moreover, as he had had mental disturbance and had been absent from his duty for a long period of time, I believe that he was not conscious of what he had been doing.

The next day, various newspapers and radio programmes reported of the press statement, stressing the Minister's sickness from mental disturbance, my denial of the defection of the permanent secretary and the rest of the Ethiopian diplomatic staff in Paris to the Italians. They also heralded the loyalty of the staff to their country and the Emperor. Consequently, the defection of the Minister did not garner the impact desired by the Italians. The Italians even attempted to get me on their side by threatening me that they would kill my brother, Akalework, and my mother. I told them, "I have a slight memory of my family as I had left my country when I was fairly young," and indifferently said, "I would not mind whatever you do." (The press statement I had given and other documents concerning this matter can be found in my collection.)

When I had a telephone conversation with the Emperor, I asked him to hold back my appointment as Charge d'Affaires allowing me

three more days to convince the Minister. I advised *Blatengeta* Woldemariam to go to the Italian embassy and enquire about the promises he had received from the Italian Government. He went and sought that the three million Lire should be given to him, and to be issued a certificate signed by Mussolini, which he can show to Graziani in verification of his property in Addis Ababa.

The Minister came back totally dismayed. He informed me that he was received by the Third Secretary at the Italian Embassy, who told the Minister no money would be given to him as he was rich enough. Additionally, the Secretary told him reinstatement if his property in Addis Ababa would only be considered when he returned to his country. I immediately took advantage of this situation and reminded him of my warning. And even now, I pledged him, for the sake of history and his family; he must publicly disclose his illness, his unawareness of what he had done, and to avow his loyalty to his country and the Emperor. Finally, I told him that I would get a medical certificate for him to substantiate his illness. After a long discussion, he accepted my proposal.

I delivered the good news to the Emperor; he was delighted. A short while after this the Emperor's personal secretary who was on his way from London to Addis Ababa, passed through Paris and met the Minister, who was his closest friend. He informed the Minister that there was no hope for the Emperor to return to Ethiopia and that the Italians would take the entire country under their control in the near future. He urged *Blatengeta* Woldemariam not to listen to my advice, as he was going to surrender to Italians; he encouraged him to join in the defection. The Minister was dissuaded and went back on his word. Sadly, I informed the defection of the Minister to the Emperor, which he remembers to this very day.

2.2 Activities and achievements at our embassy

When the Emperor realized the defection of the Minister was definite, he officially dismissed *Blatengeta* Woldemariam and sent a letter to the French government announcing my appointment as Officer-in-Charge of the Ethiopian Embassy in Paris. I resumed my assignment and continued my struggle for the next five years. (A copy of my letter of appointment is still available in the archive.)

Due to financial shortage, the Emperor suggested to shut down our embassies in London and Paris. *Hakim* Workneh (Dr Martin, the minister in London) was also instructed to go to India. I strongly opposed this suggestion and instead proposed the following to the Emperor.

A. With the inconsistency of adherence to the principles of the Collective Security by members of the League's Nations, weak nations have no protection from the aggression of powerful nations. Realizing this, Hitler would want to make good use of the situation attempting to forcibly occupy small nations like Czechoslovakia and Austria, the culmination of which meant that war was imminent;

B. Regardless of the prevailing unfriendly conditions, maintaining the embassies functional would mean that we were determined to keep our independence;

C. When the major war broke out, it was evident that Italy would join on the side of Hitler. This situation would allow us to join the allied forces fighting against them in pursuit of regaining our independence;

D. I realized that if we sit by, Ethiopia's existence would be in question because the majority of world countries have recognized Italy's seizure of Ethiopia.

Based on the aforementioned reasoning, the Emperor agreed to maintain the Paris embassy. Financial scarcity forced me to move the embassy twice, first, to Rue Columbertare Alfred then to Rue Tournepút. The second edifice had only two rooms. I used one of the rooms as my bedroom and the second one as the office. I hoisted Ethiopia's flag on the building.

As the Paris embassy was the only officially recognized Ethiopian embassy, I issued passports and visas to many Ethiopians. Furthermore, I was able to assist Ethiopians who came to Paris from Jerusalem, Sudan and other countries, in their dealings with French authorities. For instance, when Empress Menen cruised to London from Jerusalem she boarded a ship that was routed to stop at Italian ports. If I had not got her off the ship at Marseilles, the Italians would have taken her hostage. In Addition, I welcomed and hosted Ethiopian dignitaries such as *Ras* Kassa Hailu, *Ras* Berru Woldegebriel, *Bitweded* Mekonnen Endalkachew, and General Kebede Gebre. Likewise, when Ethiopian clergies transported the Holy Arc of Medhanealim, I hosted them in Paris and assisted them on their journey to London.

I also invited important people and well-known journalists to keep them abreast of the Ethiopian issue. In particular, I was once requested to assist the personal cooks of the Emperor who were heading from Jerusalem to London through France and made a stopover in Paris for two days. I took this opportunity and requested them to prepare Ethiopian traditional dishes. I invited about thirty known political figures and journalists to an Ethiopian traditional dinner. The next day, newspapers commented that, "*La civilization d'un pays se reconnait au raffinement de sa cuisine*" (The civilization of a country is recognized by the sophistication of its cooking). *Ato* Woldegiorgis, *Ato* Lorenzo and

Ato Mekonnen Habtewold also came from London to attend the occasion.

Furthermore, I was giving legal advice to the Emperor concerning various issues. For instance, during a League of Nations assembly at Geneva, the Emperor was planning to send a representative. Being aware of this plan, the Italians were intending to prevent the representatives from presenting their case through verification of power procedure. Discovering the plot, I insisted that the Emperor should go personally and present the Ethiopian case because his presence would lockout any appeal for power verification as he is Head of the state. The Emperor agreed to my advice. When the Swiss government found out about the new plan its ambassador in Paris, who was under the influence of Italians, come to my office and gave me a warning note indicating that the Emperor was no longer allowed to enter Switzerland, as the Swiss government had recognized Ethiopia as an Italian colony. Enraged, I replied that the Emperor was not coming to visit Switzerland but to attend a meeting of the League of Nations, if Switzerland did not wish the presence of representatives of certain countries, then the Headquarter of the League of Nations should be moved elsewhere. I heartened the Emperor to go ahead with the plan. The Swiss government was deterred from interference and the Emperor was able to present his argument to the League of Nations.

To legitimize their invasion the Italians argued that they had acquired total control over Ethiopia and had established a regional administration in the country. To counter this opinion I sent an envoy consisting of *Betwoded* Getachew, *Belata* Ephrem Teweldemedhen, and Dereje, the son of *Blatengeta* Hiruy Woldeselassie, from Paris to Geneva with hundreds of evidences. The documents attest existence of a local administration. The messengers also carried other dozen letters to be dispatched to news agencies. The letter's objective was to explain that

Dejazmach Woldetsadik, appointed by the Emperor as Prime Minister, was still at Gore in western Ethiopia, running the local administration; and thus the Italian claim of complete control of the country was untrue. When the envoy reached in Cairo, *Betwoded* Getachew defected to the Italians. Luckily enough, the letters were in the hands of *Blata* Ephrem and did not fall into the Italians' hand.

As I mentioned earlier, the aims of Collective Security were now subjugated and this reality encouraged Hitler to fulfil his plans. During the 1940s German aggression increased, first with the remilitarization of the Rhineland, then Austria and Czechoslovakia. Although all the invaded nations had alliance with France, neither the French nor British governments denounce the invasion. Finally, when Hitler's army occupied Poland, the French and British governments declared war against Germany.

I was convinced, in time, Italy would get into the war on Germany's side. I made an appointment to see the Prime Minister of France, *Monsieur* Paul Reynaud to discuss this critical situation. I informed him that Italy would soon join force with Hitler. To build strong resistance, I suggested, Ethiopia, France and Britain should sign a pact that will be operational immediately when Italy gets into the battle. He smiled and said that this was only my ambition and understanding, and he firmly said that Italy would not side with Germany. If Italy ever did this, he said, my suggestion would be considered again; and we agreed to keep this discussion confidential. I also raised a question about the repatriation of foreign nationals and requested him to issue a written order exempting Ethiopian nationals, such as *Belata* Ephrem, *Ato* Zewde Belayneh, *Ato* Mekonnen Habtewold, *Ato* Meles Areyaselassie, *Ato* Seyum Berhane, whom I thought would be of vital support for me at this

crucial moment. He issued a confidential order that was circulated among the commissioners. As a result, no Ethiopians were expelled.

To assist Ethiopian refugees, *Ato* Mekonnen and I founded an association known as the "*International Association for Ethiopian Refugees*". We collected thousands of French Francs and British Pounds and distributed them among needy Ethiopians in France. This was a great support known to everyone there. (Refer to existing files.)

2.3 Thomas Wold

When Hitler was only days away from capturing Paris, Italy joined the war on the side of the pervading German army. Immediately I booked an appointment to see *Monsieur* Paul Reynaud and was given one with a precise day and time. As scheduled, I went to see him only to find out that the French government had already moved its office to Bordeaux overnight, just a day before Paris fell into the hands of the invading German forces. On my way back, I observed that banks, garages, shops, and all other business were closed. Some had notices on their doors telling that they have moved to Bordeaux.

Then I headed to the bank looking for some important documents I had deposited there to save it from bombardment. However, when I arrived I found out that it too had closed. With my friends Mekbeb Damte, Seyum, and Lukas I left Paris for Bordeaux on bicycle, just before the Germans seized the city. I managed to buy the bicycle with the assistance of my wife *Madame* Colette. Millions were fleeing Paris. Lukas and I lost track of our friends in the crowdedness; we travelled on to Bordeaux together. On the way we encountered many incidents. In one particular event we used a torch to guide us through the night darkness. Because of this the French soldiers were about to kill us but our lives were saved with the sudden arrival of German soldiers.

We went to Bordeaux to travel in the ship that transports British citizens to London, to go to the Emperor. When we arrived the next morning, we were told that the ship had already left the night before. The last ship I found at the dock was a French boat. I explained my diplomatic identity to an officer and asked for a visa and other necessary assistance to leave for London. The official answered, as France had lost the war they could not do me any help. Similarly, according to the Armistice Treaty any individual who is a citizen of a country considered as an enemy by Germany or Italy was not allowed to leave the country. Consequently, I was grounded. I retorted if they were going to hand me over to the Italians, and protested that their action was against the laws of the League of Nations.

The new French government led by Prime Minister Laval, had relocated its headquarter once again to Vichy. At that moment I used to live in a tent in Bordeaux. Shortly after the government had moved its seat, I folded up my tent and went to Vichy. I asked the Prime Minister for an exit visa to leave France. Being the supporter of Hitler, he refused and informed me that France does not recognize Ethiopia any more. He even confiscated my passport and sent a telegram to Marseille instructing that I should not be allowed to leave the country. Yet, I prepared another passport in secret and contacted various foreign ambassadors at Vichy asking their help to leave the country.

Eventually, I got visa to the United States and Mexico. As I do not have passport, I was still unable to leave France. After many unsuccessful attempts, the Colombian Consul in Marseilles pity me and issued a Colombian passport to me with the false name of Thomas Wold. The passport is still available at my residence. In a secret meeting with the governor of Marseilles we discussed my exile. I left France for Portugal travelling through Spain. At the time Portugal was neutral and a

good friend of Britain that I was given the necessary assistance. Before I left Paris, I gave my old passport to the United States Ambassador Admiral Leahy (who later became chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff), to ship it to their Embassy in Lisbon. When I arrived in Lisbon, I went to the American Embassy and collected my passport.



SALVO-CONDUCTO PARA DIRIGIRSE A [illegible]

A LAS AUTORIDADES PORTUARIAS DE LA REPUBLICA [illegible] COLOMBIA.

EL CONSUL DE LA REPUBLICA DE COLOMBIA, EN MARSELLA, FRANCIA.

CERTIFICA: Que el señor THOMAS MOLD[illegible], natural de [illegible] Andrés (Intendencia de San Andrés y Providencia) República [illegible] Colombia, de [illegible] años de edad, profesión comerciante, soltero, [illegible] cuya fotografía aparece en este documento, es CIUDADANO CO[illegible] LOMBIANO.--

Y con el fin de que pueda hacerlo constar así a[illegible] las autoridades de Colombia, y las autoridades civiles y mi[illegible] tares de los países por donde tenga que transitar para su [illegible] je a Colombia, se le expide el Presente documento en Marsei[illegible] a los treinta días del mes de agosto de mil novecientos cu[illegible] ta.--

30 AOUT 1940

Cónsul de Colombia.

Nota:- El titular de este pa[illegible] será repatriado por el [illegible] sulado de Colombia en Lisboa, [illegible] instrucciones recibidas de [illegible] Gobierno.-

Cónsul

Ato Akililu's life saving passport issued by the Colombian Consulate at Marseilles.

I asked the British Embassy in Lisbon to issue me an entrance visa; I also applied to the Ambassador to assist me in evacuating stranded Ethiopians in France, such as Mekbeb and *Ato* Mekonnen. The British Ambassador communicated with the Emperor, who had returned to Ethiopia, through telegram and assured me that I would soon be returning home. At that time, it was very difficult boarding ships. So I requested the Personal Secretary of the Emperor in England, *Ato* Amanuel Abraham, to write a memo for me asking port authorities that I should be given priority to travel to Ethiopia which he good-heartedly did.

Before I left Portugal, I exchanged a number of letters with the remaining Ethiopians in France regarding their exit and arranged for their cases to be looked after by various embassies, which could help them leave France. The only person I had on my side was *Monsieur* Lukas. I boarded on a ship and after two months of voyage around Africa I reached Mombassa. I arrived in Addis Ababa at the end of 1941. I met the Emperor and briefed him about the encounters I had faced since our last meeting. For the next three months I was not engaged in official duties. I suggested to the Emperor that certain issues need to be officially recorded. He accepted my suggestion and assigned me to an office in the Ministry of Pen, where I resumed my daily tasks under his direct instruction.

3
Vice Minister at the Ministry of Pen

Though I had less responsibility, as a Vice Minister, I fulfilled the following important tasks.

- As a legal advisor to the Emperor, I used to draft letters that were sent to various Heads of States, and statements for official addresses the Emperor spoke at.
- Along with *Monsieur* Charles Mathew, I wrote the first decree (it was published in the *Negarit Gazetta*) detailing the responsibilities and obligations of Ministers of the Imperial Government of Ethiopia.
- At the founding of the Ethiopian National Bank and currency I had to beat the British proposal in a ferocious argumentation to have the headquarter based inland, and restrict the board membership to Ethiopians.

3.1 Establishment of the Ethiopian National Bank

The 1944 Agreement gave the British a type of Protectorate mandate over Ethiopia. (We did not even have the right to employ an adviser without their permission.) As we had not yet issued our own currency, we were forced to use the East African Shilling. There were about twelve British advisors in Ethiopia under the leadership of Langford, who wanted the headquarters of the Ethiopian bank to be located in London. They further suggested that the bank's board members should meet in London and be jointly nominated by the King of Great Britain and the Emperor. They also wanted the Imperial Ethiopian Government to deposit all its gold reserves in London, and to finance the printing of our

currency. (If by any given reason we discontinued our friendship they could easily nationalize all our gold reserves.) Thus, we totally resisted this idea. The British advisors were upset and were threatening to suspend the supply of East African Shilling. I suggested for a joint discussion with the British advisors to work on a scheme, then to bring it to the Emperor's attention. They agreed with the idea. *Betwoded* Mekonnen Endalkachew chaired the meeting; *Tsehafe T'ezaz* Woldegiorgis Woldeyohannes, *Ato* Mekonnen Desta and I were the negotiators.

After a long discussion, we agreed the seat of the Bank would be Addis Ababa and the board members are appointed by the Emperor. As a result, the Ethiopian National Bank (ENB) was established and a national currency was circulated. (A detailed account of these negotiations can be seen in the official government document.)

On one occasion the British brought the idea that "The Old Ethiopia is now replaced by the New Ethiopia and the government should issue new decrees and national proclamations". The Council of Ministers debated on the issue to which I stood against saying, "Ethiopia was never extirpated and the state of war against Italy never abated. We never concluded any Armistice or Peace Treaty with Italy. Consequently, all the initial laws of Ethiopia are valid."

I was instructed to take care of the issue with the British. Accordingly, I confronted the British, "The agreement the Emperor signed in 1944 consisted of the phrase '... by the power vested on me by the Constitution ...' which gave proof of the First Constitution's (1930) validity." I stated that the original constitution would invalidate the succeeding constitution; therefore, the 1944 Agreement was also invalid. The British understood the consequence of the 1944 agreement's invalidity and approvingly said I was right. In this manner we tied a

signed agreement that Ethiopia was not extinct and presented it to the emperor. Their initial aim was to change the constitution and the frontiers of the country had we agreed Ethiopia is born anew.

3.2 Vice Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs

Though I was appointed Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs from 1943 to 1949, I double as a Minister discharging the duty since that portfolio was vacant. The law also requires the vice minister to assume full responsibility for the running of the ministry in the absence of the minister. Later on, I was officially appointed as Minister and accomplished the following tasks. At this point, I would like to point out that at the time the number of Ethiopians who had obtained higher education degrees from an overseas university were not more than five or six in the entire country. When I joined the Ministry of Foreign Affairs there was not even one staff member who has a degree. Later, when Eritrea rejoined Ethiopia in 1952, many Eritreans were appointed to ministerial and other higher posts. For quite a while, I held discussions and resolved disputes with various foreign governments by my own, usually I faced the worlds without the assistance of a secretary or qualified personnel. My fellow ministers and officials vividly remember the hardship I faced at work.

My primary task at the Foreign Ministry was to review the contemporary situation Ethiopia was in, and extrapolate future work programmes:

A) Though Italy was defeated and had withdrawn from Ethiopia, from the legal point of view, we were still at war with Italy since no Armistice or Peace Treaty had yet been concluded between Ethiopia and Italy. Besides, other governments were also fighting with the German, Italian, and Japanese forces.

B) Allied countries that previously considered Ethiopia as part of the Italian colony, among them is England, took Ethiopia as an enemy territory that is overtaken by an ally. The agreement of 1942 signed between Ethiopia and Britain portrayed as if we were under British administration. It said, "The British had occupied Ogaden, controlled the railway, and commanded the Ethiopian army; they had sanctioned the employment of workers to various offices, and they controlled the landing of airplanes".

C) My prime task was to change the prevailing agreement Ethiopia had with the British, and to regain full control over the railway line and the Ogaden region.

D) Once the war was over, I decided to ask for membership at the Peace Conference and raise vital questions concerning peace and stability. I have to work harder towards this.

E) I also decided to prepare the necessary groundwork to become a founding member of the United Nations Organization, which will replace the League of Nations.

F) I made the necessary groundwork to regain Afambo from the occupying French forces.

G) I started preliminary talks with the British colonial administration in the neighbouring Sudan to reunite Gambela with the rest of Ethiopia.

H) As one needs a firm fence around his backyard to protect his property from intrusion, a nation also needs to distinctly demarcate its frontiers to forestall potential incidents and conflicts. I prepared the necessary draft to delimit the Ethiopian boundary with neighbouring countries. Italians opened war on Ethiopia over the Walwal territory, denying the existence of a boundary delimiting Ethiopia from Somalia. Except for the boundary between British

Somaliland and Ethiopia, there was no clear demarcation between Ethiopia and the neighbouring territories of Kenya, Sudan, Djibouti, and Italian Somaliland.

I) Regarding internal affairs of the country, obviously much had to be done before Ethiopia could be accepted as a legitimate nation on the global arena. I, therefore, aimed at an overall socio-economic improvement, amending the constitution and the National Education Programmes.

3.3 The Agreement with the British government

In principle I did not accept in perpetuity the War Settlement Agreement concluded between Ethiopia and Britain on January 31, 1942. As a result, I made the following preparation for replacement of the 1942 agreement with the November 19, 1944 agreement.

A. The 1942 War Treaty gave the impression that Ethiopia was a British protectorate and hence:

i) it gave British forces authority anywhere in the country;
ii) it allowed Britain to occupy all areas of the country;
iii) no aeroplane was allowed to land in Ethiopia without British consent;
iv) the British were the sole official advisers to the government of Ethiopia and no other foreign adviser was allowed to be hired without their permission;
v) a crime suspect of British nationality or any other foreign citizenship will not be sentenced unless a British judge was commissioned to sit on the Ethiopian bench;
vi) the Ogaden Reserved Area (Buffer Zone) is under British possession and they controlled the railway line too;

vii) the British ambassador has priority over all other ambassadors in the country;

viii) the British Commander-in-Chief has precedence over all other army officers in the country etc.

B. I submitted a memorandum to the Emperor informing him of the British desire to reverse the 1942 agreement. His majesty agreed to start a talk. Realizing that the British would be alarmed if I disclose our wish for negotiations, I resorted to sending a warning notice instead. In the notification letter, referring to an article of the previous treaty I asked the British to enter into negotiation with the Ethiopian government over territorial rights of the occupied areas in the next three months; in case of defiance, the mandates bestowed on them by the previous agreement should be nullified. When they got the notice, the British put their army in Kenya on alert. After a long bickering, they agreed to send a delegation for negotiation.

C. A delegation of fifteen British men led by Lord De La Warr arrived in Addis Ababa. The Ethiopian delegation was led by *Betwoded* Mekonnen Endalkachew who was assisted by General Abye Abebe, *Ato* Woldegiorgis Woldeyoahnes, *Ato* Yilma Deressa, *Ato* Mekonnen Desta and myself. Lord De La Warr and I were the main negotiators. We were on par with each other (For further details, see the official government document).

Ultimately, we agreed to amend any article of the previous treaty that conflicts with Ethiopia's sovereignty. However, we were stuck in a disagreement concerning the following three issues.

3.3.1 Ogaden

Lord De La Warr insisted Ogaden would not be handed over to Ethiopia due to an agreement Britain had tied with Italy and France to adjoin the British, French and Italian Somalilands and Ogaden into one solid territory that would be administrated under the British Commonwealth. I replied,

"Ethiopia was the first victim of fascist Italy and the first to free itself from colonial grips. How come, you, the British, who were our main ally, change your mind now and get tempted to divide up our country; I strongly protest and do not accept such an opinion".

I walked out of the meeting in protest. The same evening I wrote an eight-page letter of protestation and sent it to Lord De La Warr. I personally delivered copies of the memo to the Soviet, American, and the French ambassadors. When Lord De La Warr received the letter, he became furious since the matter was disclosed to the other three countries.

The next day, he protested to the Emperor that the letter must be withdrawn, lest he would return to Britain. The meeting was interrupted for three days. I refused to withdraw the letter; some of our delegates were inclined to withdraw it. I threatened to resign if the letter is retrieved. My aim was to regain the Ogaden, to knock down the British idea of Greater Somalia, and to expose the British conspiracy against Ethiopia to other nations. After three days of diplomatic tug-of-war, the negotiation resumed without withdrawing the letter (As the subject is too detailed, see official documents).

Ethiopia being allies with Britain, America, and other countries the matter was reconsidered and we made a formal reconciliatory agreement on the following. "As ally for the prosecution of the war,

without prejudice of her sovereignty and until the end of the war, Ethiopia accepts to put Ogaden under the British military administration." (See the agreement.)

At the time we did not have direct contact or diplomatic relations with any other nation; we were in the hands of the British.

3.3.2 The Railway

The British refrained giving up the railway line under the pretence that Britain was still participating in World War II, and Ethiopia did not have qualified personnel and managers to run the operations. We fought back saying, "We will hire trained people." They insisted, the hand over will be effected when it is proved Ethiopia has the capacity. Not only was Ethiopia handicapped by lack of trained manpower, but France, which originally constructed and operated the railway, was defeated and occupied by Germany. With the view to use the railway as auxiliary in the war, we had to cooperate with the British until such a time we had our own trained men.

3.3.3 Financial Assistance

During the war, we were running the day-to-day governmental activities with the twelve million pound sterling aid we received from the British. In essence we were rebuilding the country, official activities and taxation had just resumed. We did not issue our currency yet. The East African Shilling was still used widely for trading. The British wanted to appoint a regulatory committee to supervise how we spent the money; otherwise, they declined to release the donation. I protested and notified them, "This is not different from protectionism. As an independent nation, we prefer to forfeit the subsidy and keep our independence rather than living under your control."

I had a firm belief that we could cope with the limited resources we had. The Emperor also agreed totally with my stand. After this statement the British stopped fighting over the proposal.

3.4. Struggle for the implementation of the agreement

3.4.1. The Railway Line

It was necessary to employ expatriate technicians for repairing and managing the railway service. We made an agreement with an American company known as the "White Corporation". This company came earlier to Ethiopia to conduct a preliminary survey of the Blue Nile. It opened an office in Addis Ababa and we paid six thousand dollars a month to the corporation. No sooner after it started operating the corporation closed its activities. It later came to our understanding that the French pressurized the American company to close down its activities. I discovered the whole matter about the White Corporation from American government when I went to San Francisco in 1944 to partake in the formation of the United Nations Charter. The American government definitely told me that they did not want to offend the French government because of Ethiopia. Most western governments were waging the war; Ethiopia had no relationship with these governments at ambassadorial level. Hence, we had no one to turn to for help. Moreover, eighty percent of the railway line properties were owned by France, which meant we were obliged to discuss the matter with the French authorities.

I accused the French government of breaching the terms of the agreement they had made with *Atse* Menelik by allowing the Italians to transport their army into Ethiopia by the train. I proclaimed the agreement was not enacted, so I proposed for a new agreement. However, not only they denied transporting enemy soldiers but also resisted to accept the new proposal.

The confrontation rolls on until 1946. I met the French Foreign Affairs Minister *Monsieur* Zay while I was in London. He disclosed the French government's wish to approve of the proposal. I signed the agreement with the French Ambassador when I returned to Addis Ababa.

At last, we took over the management of the railway line from the British and started running it ourselves. After few years we signed the agreement that governs the operation today [1974]. The new agreement mandated:

a) fifty percent of the railway ownership to Ethiopia, and the remaining fifty percent to France;
b) an equal-half representation of both countries in the management board;
c) The Railway Head Office would be moved from Paris to Addis Ababa and it would follow the decrees and instructions of our administration.

3.4.2 Ogaden and the "Reserved Area"

A. *The Ogaden*

It took considerable time and assiduous effort to reunite Ogaden with Ethiopian (for detailed information, it would be helpful to refer the official government documents).

In 1946, I went to London to discuss Ogaden's transfer with British Foreign Affairs Minister, Mr. Ernest Bevin. He stated,

> The British would not return Ogaden as Ethiopia had never previously administered the territory. The record about the border incidence you had with this territory can fill up this house. After consultation with our ally countries, we have the intention to merge the various parts of Somaliland with the

Ogaden and create **Greater Somalia** and put it under British administration. Additionally, we are planning to raise the matter at the Peace Conference that starts in a few months.

I became so furious and replied, "We fought with Italians over Ogaden. If England wants to breakaway the Ogaden, then you have to vanquish us, take it by your muscles."

Angry as I was, I walked out. *Ato* Teferawork [Kidanewold] (later he was promoted *Tshafe T'ezaz*) was with me.

Subsequently, I explained to Mr. Meschev [?] what Bevin had said and even showed him notes and a map of Ogaden. I affirmed to him about the British conspiracy to take away one third of Ethiopia's territory. When he returned to his country Mr. Meschev declared at a press conference that "the colonialists" are conspiring to take away a quarter of Ethiopia's land. He strongly denounced the British government's intentions. There was a strong suspicion by the British and Americans that the Soviets would attack and occupy territory by invading Turkey and Iran. Britain was rocked with fear of the incident. The House of Commons deliberated on the issue and made Bevin responsible for the diplomatic mishap. He replied to the House repentantly that he did everything out of pity for the Ogaden people; he would not intend to do anything without the accord of Ethiopian government.

As Ethiopia's rejection of the British plan was a foregone conclusion, the British handed the Ogaden back to Ethiopia (with the exception of the 'Reserved Area' — the fertile land the British intentionally fenced off) in 1948 after a long wrangling. There was a conspiracy by the British to ferment terror in Ogaden during the handover. We sent security officials led by Chief of Security Colonel Kifle Ergetu and concluded the affair in an orderly manner.

B. The Reserved Area

Regarding the so-called 'Reserved Area', the British blatantly refused to return it to Ethiopia, arguing it is a pasture land of British Somalia. "Otherwise", they warned, "peace would never reign if these areas were given back to Ethiopia". I refuted their allegation, "For a long time, we have lived together peacefully; it is you, who provoke conflict between us. Based on the agreements reached with *Atse* Menelik and in 1944, we want you to return the 'Reserved Area'".



PM Mohammed Hajji Ibrahim Egal of Somalia and PM Aklilu Habte Wold of Ethiopia giving a press conference at the Addis Ababa International airport in 1963.

A high-level British delegation came to Addis Ababa to impress on us that Prime Minister Churchill's cabinet would not relinquish its position and give up the "Reserved Area". I walked out of the meeting and sent a message to the British government through our ambassador, *Ato* Abebe Retta, our decision that unless they give back the 'Reserved Area', we will present the case before United Nations Security Council. Eventually, the British were forced into negotiation; however, due to many reasons the case was delayed (Refer to the official document).

When the Emperor was on his first official visit to London [after the liberation], the British proposed to pick up the discussion about Ogaden in Britain. I declined the invitation as we were there for other purposes, it was not appropriate to discuss the Ogaden issue then. They announced that if we refuse the offer the matter could be delayed for months. The Emperor took the ship to London, I stayed behind and resumed the discussion with Mr. Anthony Eden and flew there a day before the Emperor's arrival. I and Mr. Eden came to an agreement that Britain would hand over the 'Reserved Area' to Ethiopia within one month.

As soon as we arrived in Addis Ababa, the Emperor received a telegram from Mr. Eden asking to delay the return of the 'Reserved Area' not to invoke an uprising. Their reasoning could not convince us. So we ignored the warning and stood firm with the original decision. They warned Ethiopia will be held responsible for the consequences. Finally, the British handed over the land at the agreed time table. We took great precaution of the security.

We thought that we are on the saddle now. The British sent a telegram to the United Nations and a handpicked team of grafted local people to voice their protest. I went to New York to counter and foil their latest tactic. I met the Secretary General of the United Nations and

representatives of other nations, argued that my government seriously dissented that the Security Council should not make it an agenda as it is entirely an internal affair. Inculcating this understanding, I succeeded displacing the appeal.

3.5 Formulation and Foundation of the United Nations

As we heard that a new organization is to replace the old League of Nations, I had forethought that we need to strive to be a founding member in the United Nations, whose birth was imminent, instead of being an observer after it is founded (it was a case when we were accepted by the League of Nations).

In 1944, President Roosevelt sent a chartered plane to fetch the Emperor for a secret meeting on the presidential cruise at Port Said. I accompanied the Emperor to the meeting. He held a long discussion with Roosevelt onboard the ship. Among other things, we talked about the future United Nations. I made clear our intention to join as a founding member. The President promised to support our proposal. We also presented an official position paper to the president that indicated our desire to open discussion with the Italians regarding the Eritrean question. (*Ras* Kassa Hailu, *Ato* Yilma Deressa, and General Mered Menegesha, were also present during the discussion).

Churchill was on his way back from the Yalta Conference when he picked up news of the Emperor's meeting with the American President. Through Roosevelt, we received a message that Churchill would also like to meet with the Emperor for talks. America was behind this invitation. Present at the meeting was Mr. Eden. We gave them a similar position paper. We emphasized the Eritrean question and the war reparation we demanded from Italy. Throughout our prolonged discussion Mr. Eden opposed our proposals on the ground that the

Italians had built many roads and other infrastructure, that this is enough a compensation Ethiopia should not lay no more claims. Cynical and rigid as Mr. Eden was we stopped the discussion and I went back home.

When the San Francisco conference approaches, we were invited like other independent ally countries. We were invited because of the support we had from the United States government. Ethiopia, Liberia and Egypt were the only three countries invited from Africa. No country was invited from Asia; India was under occupation. The total number of countries who were signatories at the founding of the United Nations was fifty-two. The Ethiopian delegation to the conference was led by Prime Minister *Bitweded* Mekonnen Endalkachew, and I was deputy head of the delegation. The other members were:

- *Blata* Ephrem Teweldemedhen
- *Ato* Amanuel Abraham
- *Ato* Ambaye Woldemariam
- *Ato* Minasse Lemma
- *Ato* Petros Sahelu

Due to language and other problems the head of delegation, *Bitweded* Mekonnen, had to leave the conference and I replaced him as Head of the Ethiopia team. The conference began its discussion in San Francisco in May 1944 and the Ethiopian delegation contributed a number of critical viewpoints for amendment. (As this topic is very broad, for the details see the United Nations document). Indeed, referring to previous experiences with the Italians, I intervened and commented several times on various issues. One significant example of the amendments that sprang from my proposal and is worth mentioning was, "If a country cries it is threatened by another country and calls the Security Council to investigate the matter, the Security Council should meet and do so accordingly."

Few countries, particularly the United States delegation, opposed the idea on the ground that the Security Council cannot meet without concrete evidence at hand. I strongly argued and justified my proposal citing the Italian invasion on Ethiopia as practical example.

> No one responded to our appeal for seven months prior to the first intrusion into Ethiopia by Italy. Rather, this circumstance gave Italy time to transport its army, tents, planes and tanks across the Red Sea. It was only after the Italians penetrated thirty kilometres inside Ethiopia that the League of Nations heard Ethiopia's plea. And during the hearing our country was already occupied.

Most countries, particularly the French delegation, were impressed by my explanation and the amendment was finally accepted. Because of this particular amendment the Security Council now regularly sits every time an appeal comes from any country. The month long paper work culminated, the fifty-two Heads of Delegations signed declaring their acceptance of the rules and regulations of the Charter of the United Nations. On behalf of Ethiopia, I also signed the charter.



Foreign Affair Minister Aklilu Habtewold signing the United Nations Charter on June 26, 1945. Standing behind him are, left to right *Ato* Minasse Lemma, *Ato* Amanuel Abraham, *Blota* Ephrem Teweldemedhen, and *Ato* Tesfaye Tegegne.

3.6 Establishment of the Ethiopian Airlines

Having completed my mission at San Francisco, I travelled to Washington D.C. and I held discussions with United States government officials on various issues (I stayed at the Blair House). The core of the discussion and the succeeding major accomplishment was the establishment of the Ethiopian Airlines (EAL). *Ato* Minasse was present throughout the discussion. As Ethiopia did not have airplanes and trained pilots, I requested for the establishment of a joint airline venture. The

Americans did not accept my request on the ground that no Ethiopian could be a pilot.

When I returned home, I requested the Emperor to buy our own airplane on credit and employ the Transcontinental and Western Airlines (TWA) on a yearly basis for the management of the Airlines. The Emperor agreed and I signed the agreement with the TWA president in Addis Ababa.

My efforts paid back. Ethiopian Airlines now flies all over the world by internationally accredited Ethiopian pilots and is managed by our own people. All my effort to establish and strengthen the Ethiopian Airlines could be seen from the archive.

4

The Paris Peace Conference with Italy

4.1 Attempts to participate in the conference: July–August 1946

i) Starting from 1943, a nagging suspicion grips me that when the Second World War ends, our enemies would leave no stone unturned to prevent us from participating in the Peace Conference arguing that:

a) Ethiopia did not actually participate in the Second World War;
b) Ethiopia's war with the Italians had started and ended in 1936, and the majority of countries had recognized Ethiopia as an Italian territory; and,
c) after the end of the Italian War, we repeatedly proposed to send our army to fight the Italians on the side of the allied forces. The offer was turned down under the pretext that we did not have a modern army and artillery.

ii) The United States, Britain, France, Soviet Union and China determined the number and type of governments that can participate at the Peace Agreement with Italy. They proclaimed that the conference aimed at settling the war against Italy that started in 1940, and that only those countries which actually participated in the war on European soil could take part in the Peace Conference. This means we cannot sit for signing the Peace Agreement with Italy along with the countries we consider as our allies. I knew this would make Ethiopia greatly venerable. If we opened a dialogue with Italy alone, it would undoubtedly reject all of our demands.

iii) I started discussions with the governments of the Big Four nations, namely, the United States, Britain, France and the Soviet Union. I started the dialogue first with the Americans, who since the end of the war were sympathetic to us. I presented a well-written memorandum with the following points.

a) We did not yet sign an Armistice with the Italians since the war was not over despite the fact that France had already signed Armistice with Germany;
b) During the five years of Italian aggression, Ethiopian patriots continued fighting with the Italians while the Emperor, despite many inducements by the Italians, was in Geneva appealing to the League of Nations. Hence Italy's occupation was restricted to certain towns; much of the country was unoccupied land controlled by Ethiopia.
c) If we had not resisted the invasion, Italy would have used Ethiopia as a major fortress and passage to easily occupy Sudan, Egypt, and Kenya.
d) It was for this reason (cited in C) that in 1940, Ethiopian patriots defeated the Italians with the assistance of a few British soldiers.
e) Therefore, we should be considered as one of the allied countries.

Thus, we substantiated our claim for a legitimate participation in the Peace Conference. The Americans accepted our proposal with sympathy and informed us that they would approve our participation, yet they told us that we should convince the Soviets, as it was them who restricted participation of other countries. (As the majority of countries side with the West, the Soviets put up this hurdle to prevent the participation of many countries, therefore, the three western countries, would not win on majority vote.)

I reminded the Soviets that our country was the first victim of fascist Italian aggression, and that we had all the right to participate at the peace negotiation. I said, "Are you not the defendants of the rights of African and other small nations? How can one forget the long-standing relationship between the Soviet Union and Ethiopia? Were you not our supporters at the League of Nations hearing in Geneva?"

Contemplating all these, the Soviets gave us their words to support us participate in the Peace Conference. Having thus convinced the two super powers, I discussed the issue with the French and the British in a manner that would ensure our position, and they too agreed. It was under such delicate conditions that I managed to enrol Ethiopia into the peace negotiations, along with twenty other governments. This situation gave us the chance not only to participate, but also to discuss and raise vital question concerning Italy.

4.2 Proceedings of the debate at the Peace Conference

4.2.1 Preparation for the debate

For the Paris Peace Conference, I prepared a position paper outlining our arguments to focus on the following three points:

i) to make sure that Italy forfeit all her colonial territories and grant their independence;
ii) to prepare a position thesis regarding Eritrea and Somalia; and
iii) to state in detail all the crimes and destruction incurred on the people and the country, and ask for reparations.

The above points needed a thorough research. Unfortunately, we did not have reliable statistics nor professional staff to do the job.

Representatives of the twenty participating countries were divided into two groups: the West and the East. We were very careful how to approach each side. Of the twenty countries, sixteen were western (including the United States, Britain and France) who would eventually back Italy to stop it from becoming a communist state. The other four countries, namely, the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, Ukraine, and Bolivia were against Italy. If we sided with the Soviets, we would lose our case to a majority vote. If we sided with the Western countries, which had concern not to offend Italy, we would not receive much support from them. So we were left in great apprehension. Because of this, I was forcing through our case to the Big Four: the United States, Britain, France and the Soviet Union, since we met with Roosevelt and Churchill back in 1944.

When the Paris Peace Conference approached, we too received a formal invitation. At that moment I was abroad working on the same issue. I immediately informed the Emperor my willingness to participate in the Ethiopian team. However, I suggested that it was wise to send a delegation of distinguished personalities to the conference like *Bitweded* Mekonnen Endalkachew and *Ras* Abebe Aregaye. I received a personally hand-written letter from the Emperor emphasizing that as I had the experience from the San Francisco conference, I should lead the delegation composed of *Blatengeta* Lorenzo Taezaz, *Blata* Ephrem Teweldemedhen, *Ato* Teferawork Kidanewold, *Ato* Tesfaye Tegegn, and *Lij* Membere Yayehyerad. (The handwritten instruction of the Emperor is still available in the archive.)

4.2.2 The debate

When the meeting commenced, each representative read out his government's position regarding the peace negotiation. I made a long speech revealing Ethiopia's position, highlighting the Italian war crimes, the loss on life and property, the amount of war reparations and other related questions. (See the full speech in official government documents.) At last, when it was Italy's turn a volatile incident occurred. The Italian Foreign Affairs Minister, Signor Gasperini, made a serious allegation by inquiring,

> According to the draft of the agreement, we are gathered here to put an end to the 1940 war. ... The war with Ethiopia started at the end of 1935 and ended in 1936 [?]. Therefore, I am surprised to see the Ethiopian delegation here. Ninety per cent of the countries present in this meeting have recognized Italy's occupation of Ethiopia. If Ethiopia is allowed to take part in this conference, then we ought to have invited China and Japan and investigate the conflict between them as well.

A sense of confusion and misunderstanding descended on the delegates. I requested to take the floor and made the following strong statement.

> The Ethiopian delegation came to this conference in search of peace. As far as we are concerned, the war, which had started in 1935, is not yet over. Nor did we make any military or peace agreement. If Italy still wishes to continue the war, I will immediately send a telegram to the Emperor to declare war on Italy. And Ethiopia will not be held responsible for the lives of the 300,000 Italians presently residing in the country.

At this point the delegates became even more confused and the conference was adjourned for a short break. Outside, an informal negotiation took place through the mediatorship of American and French delegates. They reprimanded Italian delegates to think over the fate of the Italians residing in Ethiopia whose lives were at stake. In the end, the Italians agreed on our participation. At the meeting, I demanded the Peace Agreement to be amended inserting the following statement.

> The war between Ethiopia and Italy actually started on 3 October 1935. Any principle that is stated in the Peace Treaty should be binding from this date onwards.

Other countries assented to my idea and as a result, the Italians accepted the new agreement. Regarding this account refer to the Paris Peace Agreement Article 38.

4.2.3 Territorial issue

Drawing on historical and documented facts, we notified the Big Four powers Ethiopia has territorial right over Eritrea and Somali, and demanded the withdrawal of Italians from all their colonies. (The entire speech we delivered could be referred from the memorandum presented at the Peace Conference and in the book written by professor Norman Bentwich.)

The Egyptian delegate asked permission and was given a chance to speak. He demanded, as Egypt had previously seized the seaport of Mitswa, it should be handed over to Egypt. I gave him what he asked for. "In the first place, Egypt was a Turkish colony and you ought to remember that during your brief occupation of Mitswa you were

shamefully defeated and obliterated at Gundagundi and Dogali by *Ras* Alula and his comrades." Egypt forsook its demand.

After an intensive two months deliberation concerning Italian colonies, the following articles were legislated.

> Article 23 (a) Italy has lost its rights on its former colonies;
>
> (b) The fate of the colonies would be decided by the Big Four: USA, USSR, Britain, and France. Any decision on the future of a colony has to take into account the wish of the people, peace and national security, and the reaction of countries who had recently administrated these territories. If the Big Four could not reach an agreement, the case would be brought to the United Nations.

We had to put in enormous efforts for an entire year into this draft, stressing peace and national security. The reason for this was our experience of being invaded through Eritrea and Somalia. We also emphasized asking for colonial territories to be able to directly discuss specific problems with the Big Four countries.

4.2.4 War reparations

The Big Four proposed that Ethiopia and Albania be given five million US dollars each as compensation for war crimes committed by the Italians. The Italians refused to pay any compensation to Ethiopia maintaining that they had built roads, houses, electricity, etc. Exhibiting with photographs (in a sardonic way) they showed what the roads, houses and electricity distribution was like and how these were changed during their occupation. I argued, "These infrastructures were built following Italy's war strategy and not with a vision for development.

They're built around mountains; not across meadows or rivers for local people's use. Hence it all was made to accelerate the war."

The representatives were impressed with my rationalization. After a long debate, the house decided that Italy should pay 25 million US dollars in war reparation to Ethiopia. (In fact, Ethiopia demanded 30 million dollars but it was vetoed by Greek.) Albania was compensated five million US dollars, as initially proposed by the Big Four.

4.2.5 Restitution of property

According to international law, Ethiopian government could only nationalize Italian government's property in Ethiopia, excluding its embassy. (Similarly, France, who was also occupied for four years by the Germans, did not nationalize German's private property or their embassy.) However, the Italians had owned many properties such as private houses and other assets which they amassed during the war and this was done not in good faith. Hence, we demanded, for the restitution of properties owned by Italians and won the case. Our intention to nationalize the Italian embassy set off an angry criticism from all participants. Nevertheless, I sturdily explained that the Italians had misused the embassy as a military supply depot which is in contradiction with the characteristics of an embassy.

The Big Four insisted such a statement would not be incorporated in the treaty; that they should discuss the matter among themselves. Instead, they opted to promulgate an official declaration. They decreed that Ethiopia was entitled to nationalize the Italian embassy, which we did. (We returned their embassy in Addis Ababa after they gave us an equivalent amount of land and housing in Rome where our embassy is housed in now). The nationalized property was

worth millions of dollars. It must also be recalled that the Koka dam was constructed in compensation for Italian war crimes.

4.3 Conclusion

(i) We participated in the Peace Conference on equal footing with other invited nations.

(ii) We succeeded in forcing Italy to abandon its colonial claim over Eritrea, Somalia and Libya.

(iii) For the first time, we successfully presented our position regarding Eritrea.

(iv) We had convinced the conference participants that the Ethio-Italian war, which began in 1940, was ***the first battle*** that erupted before other worlds jump into the Second World War.

(v) When the fate of former Italian colonies was up for decision at the United Nation's establishing meeting, we succeeded in presenting Ethiopia's opinion for due consideration.

(vi) We received 25 million U.S. dollars in compensation for Italian war damage.

(vii) Ethiopia was allowed to nationalize both private and state-owned Italian properties in Ethiopia.

5

My Struggle to Reunite Eritrea with Ethiopia

5.1 Confrontation with the Big Four

The Paris Peace Conference of 1946 authorized the Big Four to resolve controversies that emanates from the colonial relationship with the territories. If not, according to the treaty the matter would be then taken to the United Nations. With respect to this issue, space will limit me to detail all challenges I have faced in my one-year-long duty. However, I would like to mention as an example one outstanding incident I encountered.

When the Big Four held a meeting in London, they sent me a telegram stating that they would like to hear Ethiopia's opinion, and that I should be present on the fixed date of the hearing. The telegram arrived on Friday. I had only two days to reach London. In the first place, we did not have an airplane. The British airline, BOAC (British Overseas Airlines Corporation) flies to Addis Ababa only once a week. I sent a telegram to London explaining the transportation difficulty and requested them to extend the hearing by five days to allow me time to fly there. They telegraphed back that they could not postpone the hearing. The only option I had was to fly in an unregistered small plane donated by the British to the Emperor for private use.



Besides his key post as PM in Emperor Haileslassie's government, Aklilu was a loyal campanion of the Emperor.

As the plane had to land to refuel in Sudan, Egypt, Greece, and France, I obtained landing permits from their embassies and departed on Saturday. We were well seen in Sudan. When we reached Luxor airport in Egypt, although I showed the landing permit to an officer, he refused to provide us fuel saying, "We're at war with Israel. I'm not positive that the permit is valid; the pilot might be an Israeli. Besides, there is a flight embargo after 4:00 p.m. due to the fighting. So you should fly to Cairo for examination. You'll be escorted by a plane," he rattled through orders.

Once we were in the air, the pilot asked me what we should do. I sensed that if we travel to Cairo, we would not make it for the hearing on Monday, and would mar Ethiopia's interest. I, therefore, instructed the pilot to take a risk and fly along the Red Sea towards the Mediterranean

Sea. We were terrified of the risk we took. When we eventually flew over the Mediterranean, we exhaled with relief. At 9:00 p.m. in the evening we arrived in Cyprus and asked for a landing permission since we almost run out of fuel. The landing strip had no lights that they flashed headlights of lorries and we landed safely. After replenishing the airplane, we spent the night there and the next day, Sunday, we landed in Greece where we were warmly welcomed. We refuelled and left for Marseilles. Here, the personnel at the airport refused to provide us petrol unless we paid in cash contending that it was an unregistered airplane. After a long confrontation, they refuelled the plane and we landed in London in good time.

I met the representatives of the Big Four and explained to them the difficulties I faced during the journey just to be in time for the meeting. When the meeting started, I distributed to the delegates copies of the sixty-page speech. When I started reading out the speech, the French delegate complained that he had no patience to listen the full speech if I was to read it. It was a hot August day. I insisted on personally reading my speech to the delegates saying, "I flew to the meeting through horrific difficulties believing that I would be allowed to speak for at least two hours at the hearing." The Russian Chair Malik [?], ruled in my favour and gave me the floor. Consequently, I presented the entire speech and answered some questions that arose afterward.

The French representative (Malgli [?]) commented that Ethiopia may be justified in demanding a right on Eritrea but he asked, what rights Ethiopia has over Somalia. I replied that the French Somaliland historically belongs to Ethiopia. I inquired if he was not aware of this fact. At this point, the Russian chairman, wearing a delighted look told the French delegate he was given a sufficient reply. In the meantime, I submitted a well-prepared memorandum and we departed.

Later on, the Big Four sent an enquiry commission to both Eritrea and Somalia. Among the enquiry commission delegates were Mr. Stafford who led the British team and who previously was a financial advisor; the United States team was led by Mr. Hutter, Chief of the Ethiopian desk at the State Department, whom I had known for many years; and *Monsieur* Bizzar de Fozay led the French team. I had no acquaintances with the leader of the Russian team.

While the commission, based at Asmara in Eritrea, was conducting the investigation, I was attending the United Nations meeting in America. *Ato* Gebremeskelas Kefle'igzi and *Blata* Dawit Iqub'igzi were also with me. Learning the inquiry commission's presence in Asmara, I hurriedly returned home travelling via Cairo. Although there was cholera epidemic outbreak in Egypt, I had no time to spare getting vaccinated. I stayed for two days in Cairo waiting for a plane and took a direct flight to Asmara.

On my arrival, the governor who was a Britishman (his name is Colonel Afek[?]) informed me that Chiawo Hotel, where the inquiry commission's members will stay at, was fully booked, adding that entrance to the hotel was not allowed except for the commission's members. I wanted to stay overnight at the hotel to lobby for a considerate assessment of Eritrea's case by the commission members. Fortunately, they got me an unoccupied room that was booked for the American ambassador, who would be staying a night at the hotel. After booking in, I went to each delegate's bedrooms for a dialogue. They gave me a hope shuttering news. "Even the Christian highlanders, including *Ras* Tessema and his seventy thousand followers preferred to remain under British rule rather than to reunite with Ethiopia," they told me the inhabitants had professed.

The Ethiopian Liaison Officer in Eritrea, General Nega Haile Selassie, briefed me how the British governor sabotaged the investigation cutting back the supply of transportation and fuel. I presented a formal protest to Mr. Bevin, the British Foreign Affairs Minister about the plot. In spite of the instructions to abstain from indulging in the inquiry, Colonel Afek [?] defiantly continued acting as he pleased. Finally, the Commission presented a written report to the United Nations. The report was inharmonious, as some of the commission members had infused their country's policy into it.

The report is very broad, (for details, refer official documents) but the core issue boils down into two major prepositions.

A. The American and British delegates reported that forty percent of the population accepted reunification with Ethiopia while sixty percent did not. The Americans thus suggested that excluding the cities of Asmara, Mitswa, Assab and the christian highlands of Akaleguzi, Hamasien, Seraye and Aqordat, the rest of the territory should be given back to Ethiopia. The British delegates differed suggesting that Ethiopia should be appointed as trustee of Eritrea for a period of ten years; at the end of the term, Eritrea should be given its independence.

B. The Soviets and the French delegates, on the other hand, reported that thirty percent of the population sought to reunite with Ethiopia whereas seventy percent did not. Both suggested the port of Assab to be given to Ethiopia while the rest of the territory remains under Italian trusteeship.

The four nations failing to reach on a unanimous agreement, the issue was forwarded to the United Nations, according to the protocol in the Paris Peace Agreement. Before the United Nations begins dealing

with the matter, I felt it was essential to meet with the foreign ministers of the Big Four and elucidate our position.

i) Rendezvous with General Marshall

In 1948 I met with the United States Foreign Affairs Minister General Marshall, who was attending the United Nations conference in Paris and conversed with him about the whole affair with Eritrea. I had prepared a memorandum to give for him. Suspecting that America decided to seclude Asmara and Mitswa from being consolidated with Ethiopia doubting Ethiopia's administrative capabilities, I stipulated,

> If we are capable of governing Addis Ababa, which is five times populated than Asmara, how come you believe that we are not able to administer Asmara? Mitswa is self-sufficient from its own revenue," I explicated drawing on statistical evidences.
>
> Since the United States is a guardian of the rights of smaller nations, why do you deny Ethiopia the port of Adulis, which is the heartland of the nation's formation, through which aggressors repeatedly had infiltrated Ethiopia? We are a small nation with no ally, and our only wish is for justice. If you Americans, who are anti-colonialist, fail us on this, we are helpless, I explained in a sympathetic way.

Lastly, passing him the memorandum I had written, I said, "I request you to have a look at this note. It contains plain facts. If you find any false information, I promise that we will give up all our demand."

Listening quietly to my lamentation, the General took the memo and said he will call back after discussing the matter with President Truman. A fortnight after he summoned me for a response. "Having discussed the issue with President Truman, the American government is of the opinion that except for Asmara, Mitswa, Asseb and Aqordat, the rest of Eritrea should be reunited with Ethiopia." He went on,

> Let me give you an advice. There will be a presidential election in the United States in a month. According to speculations, the Republican Party is expected to win. Governor Edmund Dewey of New York is running for president and Mr. Foster Dulles, who is a member of the American delegation at the conference, is expected to take the Foreign Affairs Minister post. It is wise briefing him about everything you just told me." I thanked him for the tip and left.

I met Mr. Dulles and gave him the memorandum, briefing him in the same manner as I did with General Marshall. He heard me out then asked why I explained this issue to him. I replied, "You may become the next Foreign Affairs Minister." Content, he roared with laughter and promised to give me a reply in eight days after discussing the matter with Governor Dewey. He called back after eight days and reassured me that if they win the presidential election, they would give us full support to reunite Eritrea with Ethiopia. (However, they lost in the election; President Truman was re-elected. Mr. Dulles and I were staying in the same hotel that we further discussed the matter.)

ii) **With the British delegates** I also had similar discussion. "How do you recommend us to become a trustee to our brothers? Were you not our close friends, who hosted the Emperor during his five years exile in Britain, from whom we also expected greater support?"

The British delegates replied in the affirmative. They incriminated American delegates for complicating the issue by excluding Asmara and Mitswa from the reunification scheme. They guaranteed, if the Americans agreed to amalgamate Asmara and Mitswa with the exception of Aqordat, they would also accept this deal. They further told me to shut my ears to Russian and French delegation's opinion as both

are pro segregationists seeking the whole of Eritrea to be returned to Italy. I imparted to the British delegation about my prior discussions with the Americans and the concession I made. Both the Americans and the British delegates agreed to fuse all of Eritrea except for Aqordat with Ethiopia. Both Britain and America override the reunification of Aqordat on the grounds that this locality is unique both by race and religion from the rest of the mainland neighbours. Yet they gave their word to call up the issue in the future.

But the British were interested to adjoin Aqordat with Sudan. With all the promises, I decided to take up Aqordat's issue to both governments through the arbitratorship of a mutual, friendly nation when the case is tabled at the next United Nations meeting.

iii) **The French and the Soviets** It is worth mentioning that the French and the Soviet delegates had their own reasons for opposing the reunification of Eritrea with Ethiopia. At the period, there was a very strong communist party in Italy led by Cigoloti[?]. The party was endeavouring to obtain majority seats in parliament, and take over the government hence forth. The Russians wanted to be credited by the Italian electorate by supporting Italy's possession of Eritrea.

The French delegation favoured reverting Eritrea to Italy haunted by the thought that if Libya (which was also an Italian colony) was to be granted independence, then the French government might face independence demands from its Northern Africa colonies of Algeria and Tunisia. During my discussion with the French delegate, Mr. Bedau [?], I tried to convince him that the reunification of Eritrea with Ethiopia would not harm France's interest as Ethiopia is located in East Africa and Libya in North Africa. He declined to accept my rationale, firmly pronounced that it is impossible setting apart the cases as both involve matters of principle. So did Russia. There is no justice in politics but

everyone protects its interest. Nevertheless, France could not influence the issue (it is a conquered state), neither could Russia who had very few supporters, not exceeding four. Stipulating that the majority of the fifty-two member states might support us, I started preparing for the United Nations Conference. This was my imagination, the stand of each state would be seen when the unity meets. For instance, the twenty-one Latin American countries might take the side of the United Sates and the Common Wealth countries might support the British.

5.2 Eritrea's fate at the United Nations Conference

The first part of the 1948 United Nations conference was held in Paris while New York hosted the second part. The Big Four powers presented their reports; I enlightened the meeting on Ethiopia's position. After some discussion, it was decided that the whole case should be looked again at the next United Nations conference in 1949. From this meeting I found out about the stand of each country, which in short was the following.

- The **Latin American group** (Argentina, Chile, Venezuela, Mexico, etc.) were Catholics, in some of these nations a considerable number of Italians live; thus they were influenced by the Roman Pope. Moreover, the United States did not pressurize Latin countries not to be crossed with Italian government;
- The **Arab delegates** (Egypt, Iraq, Iran, Saudi Arabia, Lebanon and Jordan) supported the idea of independent Eritrea merely for religious reasons;



Discussion with UN Secretary General, Dag Hamershold (left).

- The **Asian delegates** (India, Pakistan, Burma and Ceylon) opted in principle for the full independence of Eritrea as they were former colonies themselves. Particularly, Pakistan turned out to be our main foe as it was possessed by Islamic fanatics;
- The **Common Wealth countries** including Australia, Newziland, Canada, South Africa, etc., with the exception of Canada and New Zealand, stood against our view;
- **The only independent African** country besides Egypt was Liberia, which gave us full support;
- The **European** position particularly that of the Big Four countries is explained earlier. Other European nations like Belgium, Holland,

Denmark, Sweden and Norway would either support the British policy or will assume neutrality. The British delegates did not pressurize neither these countries nor the Common Wealth countries.

From this observation I felt that ninety percent of the fifty-two member countries would not support Ethiopia's position. I agonized realizing that our wish of regaining Eritrea and securing the seaport would be shattered at the United Nations' ruling with majority votes.

Having realized the need for lobbying various governments to get them apprehend our position before the United Nations conference started, I consulted the Emperor and he agreed with the idea. I planned first to leave for Egypt to gain its support. This could have a domino effect on the rest of the Arab countries. Secondly, to visit Europe, and lastly, Latin American countries who have two votes. I intended to see the Foreign Ministers of the Big Four to put pressure through them on their allies. I prepared a document to be submitted to each country and rehearsed my points. I had with me personal letters written by the Emperor, decorations and pictures that would be given to influential personalities. I was accompanied by *Ato* Tesfaye Tegegne, who was a Minister in Paris, and my personal secretary, *Ato* Imeru Zeleke.

First, I met King Farouk and presented the Emperor's message and the *Peace Medal*. An appointment is made for me to meet with the Foreign Minister. I explained our position, the rationales of our claim, for Egypt to give backing to Ethiopia's claim as it is watered by the Nile River, additionally to intercede with other Arab states and the British government as well to lend countenance to Ethiopia's appeal. The King promised his government would support Ethiopia, and will issue a directive to their representative in New York, Dr Fawzi (who during Jamal Abdel Nasser's time become Minister of Foreign Affairs and Prime Minister) to support Ethiopia in its claim.

In France, a new government had come to power and the former Foreign Minister, Bedau [?] was replaced by *Monsieur* Robert Schuman. I briefed Monsieur Schuman. In the dialogue, I recaptured the long-standing mutual relationship between Ethiopia and France. I expressed how stunned I was finding out the French delegates opposed our appeal despite the fact that the two countries operated a railway line in Ethiopia, while American and British governments, who had less extensive bilateral relations with us, supported Ethiopia's position. *Monsieur* Schuman expressed his disagreement with the position taken by the former French government. He proclaimed, his government will give its full support for the reunification of Eritrea, this, I could witness it myself, as Schuman would also attend the conference.

The British Foreign Affairs Minister, Mr. Bevin said his government would not reconsider its position on the Eritrean issue. I asked him to enunciate our position to Britain's allies. He answered back, "They would not take it from us, still I would do everything in my ability." As far as the other countries were concerned, I found, for instance, that Belgium had changed its position and held similar stand with Britain.

We left London and flew to Brazil. We flew in a small airplane (I guess it was a Dakota) and the journey took thirty hours. Withstanding enormous hardships, we arrived in Brazil. When the Brazilian President accepted us, I presented him a *Peace Medal* sent by the Emperor, the royal message and the Emperor's picture. I briefed him the purpose of my mission and he arranged a meeting with his Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Mr. Fernandes, the Foreign Affairs Minister, was a seventy-years-old man whom I had known at the League of Nations and later we frequently met at the United Nations conference. He asked me how I got there. I replied, by plane. Astonished by the response, "You're defying

God! In the absence of airplanes that are fit for long flights, how dare you fly with a small plane all the way from London? I take a ship even when I travel to New York," he exclaimed.

I asked for a suitable occasion to present him with the *Menelik Medal* the Emperor had sent him. He preferred to be decorated at the dinner reception. So I paved the way for the talks. During the discussion, I gathered that Brazil was an Italian fan. Mr. Fernandez convincedly predicated, "Considering its big population, Italy did not have many colonies like other European countries; they simply have Eritrea and Somalia. The Italians had told me that they have 300,000 Italians living in Eritrea. Where do you think all these people could go? "

I asked Frenandez if he keeps an Italian encyclopaedia. We turned to the pages that read on Eritrea and Somalia. It was written, until 1934 there were not more than 1,000 Italians in Eritrea, and a maximum of 400 in Somalia. Amazed, he asked me, "Where did they get that there are 300,000 settlers in Eritrea?"

I responded, "These are soldiers and their wives who came in the subsequent five years after the invasion and some bunch of civilians, who waited for a ship to travel back to Italy. Except 15,000 of them, all have already departed. Both territories are impoverished and unsuitable to be populated. During the sixty to seventy years of Italian colonization in Eritrea and Somalia, they could not settle more than 400 to 1000 Italians. Their main aim in controlling these lands was to use them as a springboard to invade Ethiopia. As evidence, you could refer to the preface written by Mussolini to the book authored by the Italian writer Mores Rav [?]. The book was published after Italy invaded Ethiopia."

When Mr. Frenandez responded he did not read the book, I recited a few lines to him.

> Why should Italy incur a loss spending lots of money from its coffers on these dessert countries, Eritrea and Somalia, which brought no return?' nations were questioning. 'Is it simply to be distinguished as a prestigious nation just like France and Britain who govern colonies?' Let me tell you the reason. We have been shovelling our cash on these two desert countries, which from geographic and cultural viewpoints are known as territories of Ethiopia, with the aim of occupying the rich and fertile hinterland of Ethiopia. And this goal has now been achieved by Fascist Italy after a long period of time.

Mr. Frenandez was completely stunned by what he had just heard. He promised to discuss the issue with his government and come to a decision. He promised to call back the day after in the afternoon. The next day, he invited about 30 ambassadors including Nuntie Apostolic, and ministers to a big luncheon held in my honour. At the toast, he said, "I was a young boy when Ethiopia took on Italy at the battle of Adwa. I and my friends used to take sides and fight with each other. I was a devotee of Menelik (while he made the speech he was wearing the full regalia of *Menelik's Medal* which I had presented him a while ago). His speech gave me a positive signal to our discussion late in the afternoon.

At the meeting, he said, "We, Latin Americans are proponents of justice since we are now free from colonisation. We have now realised that truth is with Ethiopia and it deserves justice. You can count on our support."

Before I depart, I thanked him for being understanding and pleaded him to explain our discussions to other friendly countries.

Initially, we planned to visit five key Latin American countries, namely, Brazil, Argentina, Chile, Venezuela and Mexico. The rest of Latin American states would follow their lead. When we arrived in Argentina, which was then ruled by the Peron government, we

discovered not only it was inhabited by many Italians but they were also involved in majority of government businesses. They were not willing to host us. After a one day stopover in Argentina, we left for Chile.

The Chileans gave us a friendly welcome. However, just a day after our arrival, the government was toppled and we had to wait until a new government was inaugurated. I delivered the message and decorations to the President and the Foreign Affairs Minister and briefed them about my mission like I did to the Brazilians. They gave me their word to support us and we left for Peru. I briefed them in the same manner as the preceding countries; we secured their full support.

All Latin American officials informed me that this was their first contact with a member of the Ethiopian government. This imprinted a good understanding of Ethiopia. They suggested that we should open embassies and keep in touch regularly. (Pictures taken during our visit, copies of the Emperor's messages that I handed over, and other documents can be obtained in the archive.)

Done with my mission in Latin America, I travelled to Washington D.C. and held a thorough discussion with the Foreign Affairs Minister, Mr. Dean Acheson. I briefed him about my trip to Latin America, the positive assurances that were rendered, and pledged their support.

I overworked myself and got completely drained out; I was admitted to the "Doctors Hospital". After five days of convalescence I travelled to England. I briefed Mr. Bevin about my diplomatic travels and the achievement made so far. One of my colleagues, *Ato* Tesfaye Tegegne, who was on the trip with me, died of exhaustion after two months.

Upon my return to Addis Ababa, I presented a report of my assignment to the Emperor and exhorted for an immediate opening of embassies in Brazil, Venezuela and Mexico, to which he complied.

5.3 The debate at the United Nations

The following statement is a wrap up of the debate made at the United Nations from 1948 to 1950. (For detailed information, refer to the speeches that consisted of about 500 pages I delivered at the United Nations Conference and the accompanying memoranda in the official government documents.)

(a) At the 1948 United Nations Conference the Eritrean issue was postponed to the 1949 assembly (See the document regarding the debate I made at the 1948 United Nations Conference).

(b) In 1949 before the United Nations Conference resumed its deliberation, I met and discussed with the delegates of influential countries.

The Bevin - Sforza proposal

British and Italian Foreign Affairs Ministers jointly presented a plan known as the *Bevin-Sforza Proposal* on behalf of their respective governments with regard to the former Italian Colonies. In short, the contents of the plan were the following:

a) Britain, France and Italy should divide Libya among themselves for a trusteeship of ten years;
b) With the exception of Aqordat, Eritrea should be handed over to Ethiopia;
c) Italy should make a trustee rule on Somalia for a period of ten years.

During the debate of the political commission, I forwarded a motion through the French representative, Ambassador Chauvel, that Aqordat should also be handed over to Ethiopia as it is part of Eritrea. Americans, British and their allies opposed the motion and it was turned down by vote. The rest of the proposal won many votes; the resolution was sent to the General Assembly. The assembly chose to give votes on the agenda item by item. Two-thirds of the assembly voted for the reunification of Eritrea with Ethiopia. The British and the French also obtained a two-third vote to rule Libya. Although Italy obtained support for its tenure over Somalia, it lost its rule over Libya. During the final voting of the resolution, France and the Latin American countries, perverted by the French, refused the federation of Eritrea; arguing, if Italy is dispossessed of its Libyan holding, none of the other nation's tenure should get approval as the whole issue is homogeneous.

They declared that they did not vote against Ethiopia since it won more than sufficient votes; as the resolution is one complete decree, they resented, it was impossible to dismantle the cases. It became impossible to reach on an overall agreement. The resolution received only a simple majority vote, not the necessary two-thirds to pass. As a result, the *Bevin-Sforza Proposal* failed and the Eritrean issue remained unresolved.

At the second sitting of the commission the debate was subject to a new influence. Some representatives of the Eritrean people drawn from different parties were invited. The parties they came from where the Independence Party; those who sought total independence; those who wished for a United Nations trustee; British trustee... The Unionist Party was the only one that favoured reunification.

Among their leaders were Woldeab Woldemarian, Ibrahim, Sultan. Together they claimed representing sixty percent of the Eritrean

population. This remark won acceptance of the assembly. The lone party that supported us was Unionist Party that was led by Tedla Bahiru, its Executive Secretary. (In the report presented by the Big Four Commission it was indicated that this party represented 30-40 percent of the Eritrean population.)

I was dismayed watching the Eritrean parties opposing the integration, sitting side-by-side with the Italian delegates. Each representative delivered a speech which overshadowed the mood of the assembly. When my turn came, I threw critical questions to each of them, which partially debased the impression they had made at the beginning. For instance, Woldeab, who was leading a six-men delegation, said in his introductory note that he was the leader of the "Intellectual Party". This statement gave the impression that Eritrean intelligentia was against the reunification. I asked him two questions.

"How many members does your party have?"
He replied, "Between 100 and 250".

"Of these members, how many have completed a high school or a degree level of education?"

He replied "None".

Irritated by the interrogation, he tussled, "How could the Foreign Minister of Ethiopia ask me such questions when it is obvious that we were not given a proper education by the colonial administration?" (Laughter among the delegates).

I made the remark, "I am quite aware of this fact. I raised the question simply because you stated that you are the leader of the 'Intellectual Party'; thus, I wanted to prove to the conference that your statement is misleading. In fact, the Italians did not educate any Eritrean but rather it was Ethiopia who educated them. For example, these Eritreans, who are at this very moment sitting beside me, *Blata* Dawit

and *Ato* Gebremeskel, as well as hundreds of other Eritreans who are not here with us, were educated in Ethiopia after they run away from Italian-colonized Eritrea".

Ibrahim Sultan, the leader of the Muslim League, made a contemptuous speech.

> "Eritrea has never been part of Ethiopia. We have 300,000 members in one district, 500,000 members in the second, and 700,000 in the other, … ."

I then addressed the following two questions to him:

"You have stated that Eritrea has never been part of Ethiopia. If that is the case, could you define the boundary line between the two countries before Eritrea was occupied by Italy?"

He replied, "I do not know". (Laughter)

"You have indicated the number of your party's members in various districts. How many are they? The total adds up to three million people.

"What is the total population of Eritrea?" I asked him.

He replied, "I don't know, ask the British".

I said, "The entire population of Eritrea does not exceed one million." (Everyone laughed).

During the debate the Soviet delegate presented a resolution which suggested that Eritrea should gain its independence, with the exception of the port of Asseb that should be given to Ethiopia. Many governments, including the Arab States, indicated they could not vote against independence.



PM Aklilu Habtewold with Secretary General Nikita Khrushchev (middle) of the USSR

I was baffled by the alternative given. If I accepted the resolution the reunification of Eritrea would never materialize; and if I accept the second option of total independence, then Ethiopia would miss the

opportunity to acquire the port of Asseb. I intervened with a punchy statement.

> The resolution presented by the Soviet delegate is contrary to an article mentioned in the Peace Conference. (It states: ...on the basis of peace and security countries which have an interest should be given consideration...). It is clearly known to the Soviets that this region was always used as a base to invade Ethiopia. I still want to stress that Eritrea cannot become an independent state; otherwise, it would only serve as scaffolding for other governments who want to invade us. Any member state that supports the independence will be considered as an enemy of peace, and of Ethiopia. I want the names of member states clearly pronounced during voting time.

The Soviet delegate commented:

> You have revealed that the Eritrean people are eager to be taken back. If that is the situation, why are you afraid to give them their freedom? Would not they willingly reassemble with Ethiopia afterwards?

For which I replied:

> On the pretext of will of the people for unity, Russia has occupied Estonia and Lithuania. Why do not you grant them independence and see if they reunite with Russia willingly afterwards? If you are pro unity, why do you deny Eritrea this benefit? Please give back Estonia and Lithuania their freedom and let's see if they merge with Russia again. Let me remind you this. Once you teach a child to walk, you cannot ask him to commit suicide.

At this point Americans, British and other rivals of the Soviets cracked into laughter. The Soviet delegate walked out fuming with rage.

During the recess, I talked with Dr. Fawzi, the Egyptian representative; and with the Yemen delegate. I asked Fawzi if he had the consent of his government to vote for independence. I notified him that when I visited Egypt, the king had given me his word to support our position. I suggested, he should call home if he had any doubt and warned him all the responsibility rests on him (he was outraged). I took aside the Yemen representative too. "There are 20,000 Yemen nationals who live in Addis Ababa currently. If you support Russian's motion and vote for independence, I will send a telegram to Addis Ababa right away and get your citizens evicted," I intimidated him. Similarly, I coaxed other delegates.

The debate and the argument continued. Another resolution was forwarded. "So far the United Nation did not send a mission to Eritrea to gather the public's opinion. (It was an observers' team of the Big Four that had been dispatched until now.) This time, a delegation of five nations should be instituted to carryout public opinion assessment," it was requested.

The Egyptian representative jumps on the bandwagon and asked the Soviet delegate to withdraw his proposal. The Soviet delegate refused to do so. The Egyptian representative announced he would vote against Russia's motion, the representatives of other Arab state declared the same. The delegates of other governments try to moderate asking the Soviet delegate to hold back on his proposal for the time being, and give priority to sending an inquiry commission instead. He went on with his defiance. Ultimately, votes were given, the Soviet's proposal gained only three votes, it was discarded.

5.4 Nomination of members to the Inquiry Commission

Member countries nominated for the United Nations Inquiry Commission by the Big Four and their allies were South Africa, Pakistan, Guatemala, Burma and Norway. When the nominees are disclosed to the general assembly, I stood out against it strongly.

> South Africa and Pakistan had already taken a position on the issue and have openly demonstrated their hostility towards Ethiopia. We have also seen Guatemala is a defendant of Italy. Of these nominees, it is only Burma and Norway who are neutral. If these are your nominees, why don't you include Italy in the commission then?

The nominated countries fought back. As the Big Four had agreed on the selected committee, it was impossible averting it. The nominated countries were finally accepted by a majority vote as members of the United Nations Inquiry Commission. Later, I had to meet personally the delegates of the commission, particularly the hard-liners before their departure to Eritrea. I explained our position to each of the five representatives. My discussion with the South African representative was very promising. I distinctively informed the Pakistani delegate who was predisposed to believe Muslim Eritreans were discriminated. "We do not exterminate Muslims in Ethiopia like you imagined. This, I ask you to go and see for yourself. You can notice businesses and the economy are dominated by them. Additionally, it is wise remembering Prophet Mohammed's statement about Ethiopia."

I cajoled the Guatemalan and Burman representatives too. Since Burma became a free state recently, their delegate can think of nothing but freedom. I notified him that for Eritrea, her independence would be

reunion with Ethiopia. I invited them all for dinner to have casual discussions and to compromise their attitudes.

5.5 The United Nations Inquiry Commission's visit

Returning from a field mission in Eritrea, the commission held a meeting at Ras Hotel in Addis Ababa. I presented a detailed, sixty pages report emphasizing the historical afflation of Eritrea with Ethiopia, how it failed into Italian hands, how instrumental it was for enemy forces that invaded Ethiopia, and a genuine reflection of the public opinion (the British administration had manipulated inhabitants' views).

They asked me an array of questions to which I promptly replied. The speech I made and the dialogue can be seen from the official government documents. (Due to exhaustion, I was repeatedly sick and a doctor was on standby at the hotel).

We arranged for the commission to observe the Muslim communities not only in Addis Ababa but in Gondar and Harar towns. There, they attended receptions to which Muslims were invited. The Pakistani delegate was very impressed; he told me everything he heard before was a lie. The commission also went to Somali and Egypt (it went to Egypt because it had raised ownership right on Mitswa, perhaps.) Returning to the United Nations Headquarters, the commission wrote a report. (For details see the United Nations report.) Briefly, the core of the report was the following:

- South Africa and Burma suggested, Eritrea should be federated with Ethiopia;
- Pakistan and Guatemala suggested, Eritrea should be given its freedom; and
- Norway suggested, Eritrea should unconditionally be reunited with Ethiopia.

Except for Norway, none supported our position entirely. I conversed with the United States and the British governments regularly to get an impression of their outlook. They were pro federation. However, they would wait for the outcome of the inquiry commission to make a final decision. The majority of member countries (Arab states, Latin America, Asia and the Commonwealth), they told me, will oppose the idea of simple unification after hearing the commission's report.

The 1949 United Nations General Assembly had assigned the Little Assembly, in which all member states were represented, to study the Eritrean case and other matters and come up with a resolution to the 1950 General Assembly. Hence I stayed for seven months in New York debating with the Little Assembly.

Before my departure, the Council of Ministers huddled with the Emperor for consultation and they gave me instructions. I kept home abreast of all activities by telegramming and received further instructions. The telegram messages are available in the official government documents. I also have most of the copies in my personal file.

On my way to New York I made a stopover in London, Paris, and Washington to have a word with their officials. Ethiopian Ambassador in London, *Ato* Abebe Retta, attended the talk with the British officials. The gist was the following.

> We will not accept federation, but unity. We cannot afford to accept real federation, like the American type - two governments, two parliaments, two flags, two capitals; and a third federal government, federal parliament, federal flag; on the one hand a federal capital, Eritrea as individual state, on the other hand Ethiopia as a nation with twelve states, how come they are considered as equals? That's unpractical. And

> the Constitution – Eritrean, Ethiopian, and the Federal. We won't accept three constitutions. For Ethiopia and Eritrea the contemporary Ethiopian Constitution will be governing. Utmost, we can accept self administration similar to that of Scotland. Alsace-Lorraine, the French territory, was occupied by the Germans during the First World War (1914–1918), and was returned to France on the condition that it is self-administered.

When I reached Paris, I took medical examination. The physicians recommended that I should be admitted to hospital for surgery. "I had this very important national issue to take care of", I refused their advice. The doctors warned me that I could fall sick on the journey. I ignored the warning and got after my business. I had the operation after the meeting, after the Eritrean issue was over.

The General Assembly had set up an ad hoc committee to study either a federal arrangement for Eritrea or to follow the United Nations Resolution passed on this issue. Brazil was one of the members. There was a serious debate. The Italians and their allies fought bitterly to win their case while Americans and British, noting our resolve, laboured to draft something Ethiopia can accept. Throughout my stay in New York, I held profound talks with all representatives – Indian, Pakistani and Latin American.

The Little Assembly finally suggested a resolution for approval by the General Assembly. Although this resolution was formulated to resemble a federation it, gave local administrative autonomy to Eritrea, and puts major importance (the seaports and the railway) under the Ethiopian government jurisdiction. The resolution also suggested that the Ethiopian Constitution is applicable on Eritrea. The Commission presented the draft to the General Assembly.

5.6 The end of the Eritrean issue

In the 1950 United Nations Conference I participated in many debate sessions. A detailed material of the dialogue and interventions I made are deposited in the archive. I will, however, briefly note those issues which I am able to remember.

When the conference begun, the Italians changed their tactic. Knowing that their demand is unrealizable, they proposed that all Italian colonies should be granted independence. They suddenly became champions of freedom! All Eritrean political parties that were invited to convey the wishes of their electorate (they hold varied aspirations – some wished to be administrated by Italians, British, United Nations and those who wanted total independence) fused their position on the advice of Italians after they arrived in New York, and declared that their ultimate goal was independence. To that effect they had formed a party known as the Independence Bloc. According to the report of the Big Four the population that supported the unification was forty percent and the Inquiry Commission agrees with this conclusion. On top of this, waiver of the unification by sixty percent of the population had thrown our request in a tight fix.

After the Independence Bloc representatives made speeches in turns I cross examined them. One of the questions was:

> Initially, you were entrusted by the people you represented to reflect to this convention their varied desires (to be governed by Italy, Britain, the United Nation). How could you put aside your people's demand and claim your own interest is also the question of the Eritrean people? Didn't you made up this conception on the advice of Italians while you all were in Rome before you came here?

When the matter became serious, the representatives said they have sought an approval by telegram. I asked them to produce the telegram; they could not. In the end the meeting understood the whole idea was an Italian fabrication. The debate continued, the resolution that embodies the Federal Act was passed by majority vote on December 1950. (The vote and minutes of the resolution can be referred from the archive).

The resolution lists the following major points.

Introduction: Taking into consideration the people's wish for peace and security, the geographical position of Eritrea and its economy, realizing Ethiopia's necessity of having a port, and taking into account all other important facts we have passed the following resolution:

i) **Eritrea** should be considered as one unit and federated with Ethiopia. (At this point the Lebanese delegation Head suggested to use "State" instead of "Unit". I protested and the statement was withdrawn);
ii) The **Ethiopian Government** would have authority over defense, foreign affairs, ports, railway line, etc. (see the document);
iii) The internal government and administration should be conducted by Eritrea;
iv) A constitution for the internal administration of Eritrea be formulated;
v) A United Nations Commission be appointed to assist drafting of a constitution for Eritrea's internal administration on the basis of the desire of Eritrean people, of the Ethiopian government and British administration laws. The Commission will submit the draft to the 1952 General Assembly; and
vi) Observe how the Federal Act and the self governance laws are exercised.

5.7. Exertion with the UN Commission

For two years I struggled with the United Nations Commission. The Bolivian Head of the Commission, Anze Matienzo, was an Italian fanatic. Disregarding the Federal Act he did everything possible in his power writing up the Constitution in a manner that grants Eritrea independence. This he made bestowing the various authorities designated to Ethiopia on Eritrea's internal administration. I often travelled to Asmara to challenge his insidious ideas, knock them down one by one.

His intention was, when Ethiopia refuses to accept the constitution, to call for Eritrea's independence on the pretext of Ethiopia's dissention. For instance, he went to Europe and got an internationally known Swedish jurist who gave him a written opinion regarding amendment of the constitution, paying them enormous amount of cash. The jurists' statement is available in the archive. When he arrived at Asmara airport, he made a speech disclosing this.

The statement reads, "To perform changes on the Federal Act (for example, to call off the federation and merge the states without precondition) is not allowed without the consent of the United Nation."

I flew to Asmara right away and requested for a meeting with the Commission Head. I made a declaration on the name of the Ethiopian government.

> On behalf of Ethiopian government, I strongly oppose the statement given by the jurists. The United Nations resolution is simply a recommendation for the people of Eritrea and Ethiopia. We may or may not take it, but we are not bound to it. Once we accept the resolution, we can adjust it between us. Neither Ethiopia nor Eritrea is administrated under the guardianship of the United Nations. We are free people and state. I officially request the commission to include this declaration when it presents the report to the United Nations.
>
> The meeting closed and I flew back to Addis Ababa.



Aklilu (then Foreign Affair Minister) being welcomed by the people of Eritrea when he arrives at Asmara airport to negotiate with the United Nations Inquiry Commission in early 1950's.

The Eritrean constitution for the internal administration was prepared in accordance with the Federal Act. The Eritrean people elected their representatives for the assembly. The Emperor approved the United Nations Resolution on the Federal Act, the Bylaws for the Internal Administration and the Constitution of Eritrea. Afterwards, the Emperor visited both the city of Asmera and the port of Mitswa. I was with the Emperor. No words can express the happiness of Ethiopian and Eritrean people. As for me that was the happiest moment of my life.

Ras Andargachew Messai was appointed as the Emperor's representative and *Ato* Tedla Bahru (Chairman of the Unionist Party) as Chief Executive and we began to administer Eritrea.



In traditional Ethiopian white cloth, Emperor Haile Selassie and PM Aklilu celebrating one of the Ethiopian national holidays.

The daunting exertion to get back Eritrea affected my health badly that I often felt sick: of exhaustion, sleeplessness and allergies. European doctors advised me that the only cure for my sickness was a prolonged rest for at least six months. If all the air journeys I did were to be aggregated into a single flight, I stayed between heaven and earth for one full month (700 hours). The speeches and interviews I delivered on this case run in thousands of pages (All these are deposited in the archive).

6

Strive to Reunite Afambo

Afambo lies near the border of Ethiopia and the French Somaliland (Djibouti), located on a strategic site inside Ethiopia. This elevated area allowed control of Awssa and the French Somaliland. Primarily its benefit is due to the availability of plenty of water in the area. The French, with an ambition of extending their colonial territory of Djibouti, always coveted the Awssa and Dire-Dawa regions. (Refer to the 1906 agreement between France, Britain and Italy with the aim of dividing Ethiopia into different zones.)

After the 1944 agreement, when the British left Ethiopia they told us that the French had occupied Afambo. I summoned the French Ambassador and firmly protested that France had to leave our territory at once. He rejected my appeal arguing Afambo belonged to France. I discussed the matter with the Emperor and the Council of Ministers. I proposed to use military force to evict them, and also to occupy Djibouti. The Defence Minister *Ras* Abebe Aregay, however, informed the Council that we did not have a strong army to take on the French Army stationed in Djibouti. As resort to military power was not a viable solution, the Council instructed me to use diplomatic means.

I summoned the French Ambassador once again and calmly explained to him, "To settle the controversy over Afambo, we should look at the boarder agreement signed between Djibouti and Ethiopia; there is a map annexed to it. Let's sign a protocol to delimit the frontier. The actual delimitation will show to which side Afambo belonged."

On behalf of his government the French Ambassador responded, "My government is currently at war and I have no time to discuss this

particular issue, nor is my government ready to hand over Afambo to Ethiopia."

> I replied,
> If you refuse to hand over the territory, and do not want to negotiate for a peaceful settlement of the issue, then my government has decided to withdraw your diplomatic privileges from this very time onwards. For a long time you had refused to recognize Ethiopia's sovereignty and supported the Italian occupation. Similarly, you have been occupied by the Germans for four years during the Second World War. Therefore, we do not recognize the independence of France. When your government is ready to accept Ethiopia's proposal and sign an endorsement, we'll release a statement, an official cognizance in which both nations acknowledge each other as a free state and government. Until then you are a private person.

I told the traffic police to ban him hosting his flag on his Core Diplomatic vehicle.

He informed his government of his diplomatic immunity ban and waited for the reply. A few days after, the French government (led by De Gaulle) instructed the ambassador, *Monsieur* De Blesson, to sign the agreement. We also signed the cognizance protocol. Ultimately, his diplomatic status was restored.

It was clearly stated in the agreement that the two countries recognized each other's independence and a commission was formed based on the previous agreement signed (in the year 1897) during the reign of *Atse* Menelik. The task of the commission was to delineate the border between French Somaliland and Ethiopia: first, to survey and draw the map, and secondly, to mark the delimitation on the land. The members of the commission representing Ethiopia were Colonel Kifle

Ergetu, Chief of security (later he became *Dejazmach*) and *Ato* Abebe Gebretsadik.

6.1 Problems encountered

The map we obtained was imprecise and drawn in a vague manner. It must have been drawn without exploring the actual places. When we try to trace the actual frontier, we realized that the French colonial administration had already changed the names of several places including the name of a lake, in a way that solidifies their tenure.

We asked the local people to help us trace the border, but they had been bribed and testified the land belongs to France. There were no installations–houses or other infrastructural signposts–we had built in the area. As the names were switched and the witnesses bought off by the French, we were troubled to gain a toehold for our claims.

Having realized the deadlock in regaining Afambo on the basis of the previous agreement between the two governments, I resented to diplomatic means. I travelled to Paris and met *Monsieur* Reni Mayer, the Prime Minister, a personal friend of mine, and indicated to him that France had many interests in Ethiopia like the long-standing and mutual relationship between the two countries; France's stake in the Djibouti–Addis Ababa railway line; the French Archaeological Mission; the Pasture Institute and *Lycee* Grammar School. I mentioned all these as a bargaining chep to persuade him that French should relinquish Afambo.

He promised to give the matter a thought and took me for lunch. The second day, he called back informing me to meet the Foreign Affairs Minister, *Monsieur* Bedau [?]. Bedau informed me that the French government has agreed to delimit the borders between French Somaliland and Ethiopia. *Ato* Abebe Gebretsadik bore all the necessary documents and accompanied me during the visit.

With this understanding and the help of *Atse* Menelik's Agreement, the border between Ethiopian and French Somaliland was delimited enclosing Afambo within Ethiopia's territory. (For details see the archive.)

French newspapers criticized their government's action and agitated the public saying that "A territory was unlawfully handed over to Ethiopia; the Emperor and Aklilu are enemies of France; ..." It also triggered off a debate in the French Parliament. (All this information can be found in the French archives.)

6.2 Negotiations to reunite Gambela (1954–55)

The treaty signed (in the year 1902) between *Atse* Menelik and the British Colonial Administration (in the least it limits the frontier Ethiopia shares with Sudan) stated that Gambela would remain in British hands' as long as Sudan was governed by the British.

In 1954 when I visited Britain together with the Emperor, I summoned up the matter to Mr. Eden, (Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs), reminded him Sudan would soon be independent and that Britain should handover Gambela to us as per the agreement. He stoutly argued, "Sudan's independence will not materialize for the next two to three years, according to the treaty you should wait until such time."

I replied, "We don't wish to wait until Sudan is freed and argue later with our brothers asking to handover Gambela. Therefore, I insist that you handover Gambela to us without delay."

Finally we reached an agreement over a deal, which stated that Gambela should be handed over to Ethiopia three months before Sudan is declared an independent state.

Four months later, Marshall Tito of Yugoslavia came on visit to Ethiopia. I was in Mitswa with the Emperor and Marshall Tito when I listened on a radio broadcast that the British government will give back Sudan its independence after five days. And the British would leave Sudan without handing over Gambela to Ethiopia. The news also speculated that conflict might brew between Sudan and Ethiopia. The British word of their three years tenure of Sudan was pure deception!

I explained the seriousness of the matter to the Emperor and immediately returned to Addis Ababa (this happened on Friday) and wrote a notification. On Saturday, I summoned the British Ambassador and gave him the note. Briefly the memo said,

> According to the agreement Gambela would be administrated by the British government until Britain has control of Sudan. Now that Britain has suddenly decided to leave that country, Ethiopia is going to take over Gambela as of the coming Monday (in two days time), in accordance to agreements with Britain and Sudan.

The ambassador protested on our action and said he would forward the message to his government. In the meantime, I prepared a telegram and sent it to the Sudanese Interior Minister through our Liaison Officer in Khartoum, *Ato* Meles Andom (who subsequently became our ambassador in Cairo) to hand it in. The content, briefly, conveyed,

> We are greatly delighted on your independence and that we are looking forward to a fraternal cooperation between Ethiopia and Sudan; that the British colonialists had occupied our territory, Gambela, by force, and we will take it back starting the coming Monday; that this will not affect the relationship in any way.

Furthermore, the message assured that any installation and property belonging to the Sudanese government will be looked after for

the time being. Overwhelmed by the rejoice on their independence, they replied with appreciation that we have their consent concerning our action over Gambela.

As planned, Ethiopian police positioned in a nearby station marched into Gambela and raised the Ethiopian flag on Monday morning. It also took over the administration of the region without any mishap.

After three months, a Sudanese delegation led by the Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs came to Addis Ababa to discuss Sudanese property and installations in Gambela. During the discussion the delegates annoyedily asked, "Why do you expropriate us, Africans, Gambela which you willed to the British to occupy? Give it back to us." I explained,

> Gambela is taken away by force from us when British colonialists divided up Africa. And now, when the total independence of all colonies is declared, how could you seek to regain our own territory? Rather, it would be appropriate to sort out brotherly the list of properties. Our correspondences also imply this discuss will dwell on the handing over of installations and property. Discussion that concerns other matters is beside the point and contrary to the normal procedure.

The Sudanese delegates were mad at my statement and walked out of the meeting. (Present with me on this meeting were the Vice Minister *Blata* Dawit and the Director General *Lij* Endalkachew Mekonnen). Alarmed by the incident Endalkachew nervously asked what we should do. I told him, "Don't worry, we'll amend." He admiringly said, "I do not have as much experience as you do."

The Sudanese delegates petitioned to foreign ambassadors residing in Addis Ababa (including the American and the British) of the denial. I invited the Sudanese Vice Minister to come to my office alone, explicated him the whole affair, and reconciled with him. We made a conciliatory agreement. Ever since that agreement was signed, the Sudanese did not make any claim on Gambela.

6.3 Demarcating the border with Kenya

When I took office at the Foreign Affairs Ministry, I made it first priority to demarcate Ethiopia's frontier with all our neighbours in accordance with international laws. This was because of our experience of the Walwal and Afambo incidents. A small nation as we are, surrounded by colonialists, it was very crucial to fence off our territory tightly. The frontier agreements made with *Atse* Menelik (1897—1908) were greatly imprecise and often vague. Before Ethiopia was invaded (1935) it had its boarder demarcated only with one of its neighbours – with the British Somaliland. Because of this Ethiopia experiences frequent frontier clashes with neighbouring countries. (Bevin once remarked, "The protestation letters you wrote regarding incidents at the Ethio-Kenya boarder will fill up a room.)

Enlightening the Emperor the volatility of the situation, when I first went to London in 1946, delimitation of the border was one of the points I had talks on with the British government. (*Tsehafe T'ezaz* Teferawork Kidanewold was with me.) The British government agreed on the idea and announced it will send a delegation to Addis Ababa shortly to sign a demarcation protocol. The British delegation arrived, a joint commission was set up, drawing the border on a map continued based on *Aste* Menelik's agreement. Colonel Kifle Ergetu and *Ato* Abebe Gebretsadik and others represent Ethiopia in the committee. They

scouted the area often. Finally, the commission submitted its draft to the respective governments and it was approved.

Getting the approval of both governments, the actual demarcation on the ground started. After many years of work and consuming huge finance the work was completed. A few years after, the local population claimed that the Kededuma [?] water wells were indispensable water sources, regarded as sacred by the community. The query was examined by a commission. The suggestion for rationing was to enfold nine of the wells with Ethiopia while two are dispensed to Kenya. We came to this agreement in order to avoid possible clashes between communities of both countries that live along the frontier in search of water. I requested the British government to handover Kededuma as a lot of public interest hinges on in. The British received our request in good faith and responded, "You have sufficient water wells but you insist on more; in exchange for the water wells give us back the territory we gave you earlier."

Everything was done in this fashion and frontier marks for this part of the region were remade on the ground. A few years later, Kenya became an independent state (1963). As our border with Kenya had been delimited since long, we live in harmony and earnest brotherhood with Kenyans.

In accordance with the international law I managed to straighten the frontier problems with French Somaliland; the dispute with British Somaliland was ended before the war; we are at peace with Kenya; what remained was the discord with Italian Somaliland and the Sudan.

A dozen of negotiations were held with the Italians to demarcate the limits with Italian Somaliland following the United Nations Resolution, when this nation was still under the trusteeship of the United Nations and under the Italian colonial administration (1952–1960). We

endeavoured a lot. A status report is regularly presented to the United Nations and many resolutions were passed. The Italians, however, were always sabotaging to delay the resolve by misinterpreting the agreements. When agreement is not reached on an issue, the case is referred to arbitrators hence Italians can sit on it. We never refrained from appealing to the United Nations of the lagging. Our delegation was headed by *Ato* Haddis Alemayehu. (For details see the official document of the United Nations.)

In 1960, before we resolved the frontier problem, Somalia was liberated. One of the reasons Italians sit on the case was their fear of Somalians' reaction. After its independence, we made several proposals to negotiate with Somalia. However, the Somalian government refused to come to the negotiation table insisting that Ogaden was part of Somalia.

As far as the Sudan is concerned, after rounds of discussions we came to a mutual agreement. (For details, see the official documents.)

7
Efforts to Draft New Constitution (1955)

While we were debating about Eritrea and other important matters, I persistently advised the Emperor to replace the 1930 constitution because of the following reasons:

i) As the society advances, the state must be a step ahead revitalizing its governance in a timely fashion; the old constitution had served its purpose, but it is presently outdated.

ii) After the Second World War, the state of affairs had changed dramatically throughout the world that we have to attune ourselves for such changes.

iii) Having a modern, democratic constitution could earn us a favourable image from the international community, that impression would give impetus for our request.

Though the Emperor approve of the improvement, there was, however, strong resistance from the nobility who pronounced the amendment was uncalled for. After intense debating, it was agreed to set up a consultative commission that would marshal the change. The members of this commission were *Bitweded* Mekonnen, *Tsehafe T'ezaz* Woldegiorgis, *Ato* Yilma and myself. Amidst the members, I was the only person who had legal training. Some expatriate lawyers, particularly *Monsieur* Spencer used to work with us. At times, another foreign legal specialist used to comment on our work.

The lawyers and I would present the draft we prepared to the commission members. Following a profound discussion, the commission would switch whatever needs to be changed, crossed out progressive ideas, and then will send the amended draft to the Crown Council for

further consideration. The Emperor chairs the council in which the Crown Prince Asfa Wossen and Prince *Ras* Kassa attend ex officio. I elaborated to the council why an article is written in a particular manner drawing examples from the constitution of other countries. *Ras* Kassa then asked me to provide justification for each article. We produced about fifty constitutions of other countries to justify the newly introduced articles. (This issue is very detailed, refer to the official document.)

In general, the nobility removed the articles loaded with progressive ideas contending that no one would question it. Despite considerable resistance, I succeeded in finalizing the existing constitution. The Emperor always backed me. "Aklilu, the government proclaims this constitution in spite of strong resistance from the nobility putting great faith and trust on you," the Emperor's caveat resonates in my mind.

I thanked the Emperor for the faith and trust he had on me, assured him that the new constitution is essential for the legacy of his Majesty's rule and for Ethiopia. I canvassed, in due course of time, a more progressive constitution should be formulated and reassured His Majesty this would not entail any harm but will boost the governance. To circumvent undue responsibility, I wrote a note to the Emperor. (Although the new constitution could not be considered fully democratic because it was resisted, it markedly changed the pattern of the old constitution.)

As the Emperor pointed out on the day of the proclamation, it had indeed taken many years of great challenge to formulate the constitution. The new constitution was presented to parliament for approval and it was promulgated on 24 *Tikemet* 1948 (04 November 1955).

The preparation phase of the constitution took the following course:

(a) In 1959, I called for amendments to the 1955 constitution. Accordingly, a commission was formed and a proposal was presented to the Emperor.

(b) I would like to emphasize that even after the resignation of my cabinet, I applied to the Emperor to change the constitution with apposite decrees. I made these propositions as a private citizen, who could freely air his opinion, without using my authority or interference. The Emperor was wrapped up in the application, then it was disclosed to the public.

7.1 Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Affairs Minister

Although I was appointed Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Affairs Minister from *Hedar* 1950 (November, 1957) for three years, I did not have full authority over my post. The President and Chairman of the Council of Ministers, *Ras* Abebe, had to approve all decisions. My major duty was to forward the decisions approved by the Emperor to the various ministries. Apart from this, I also carried out my duties as the Minister of Foreign Affairs. In spite of my limited responsibility, I managed to accomplish the following.

After the constitution was proclaimed, I proposed to the Emperor the need to draft statutory laws regarding civil and commercial activities. These were the Civil Code, Panel Code, Commercial Code, Maritime Code and Procedure Code. The Emperor agreed to my proposal. I was well aware that we needed professional lawyers and specialists, and that it would take a long time to prepare these codes.

I went to Europe to search for well-seasoned professionals. Having located world class specialists, I employed Professor David to

draft the Civil Code, and another Professor to draft the Commercial Code. Both professors taught at the Sorbonne University. A professor from a Swiss University was assigned to draft the Criminal Law. All three specialists came to Addis Ababa and were taken in by the commission which was formed to write the codes.

7.2 Prime Minister and Minister of Pen

I become Prime Minister and Minister of Pen (17 April 1961) just after the 1960 coup d'état. I was quite aware that many reforms had to be made in different ministries and persistently reminded the Emperor how ripe our country was for accepting a substantial set of reforms. The Emperor agreed on many of the reform proposals.

I sought for advice from my colleagues General Abye (who was then a colonel), the Interior Minister; General Mered, the Defense Minister; and *Ato* Yilma, the Finance Minister. They agreed with my view and decided that I should draft the reform proposals and together we planned to present it to the Emperor for his approval.

On 18 July 1961, the Emperor gave me his consent. The core areas that needed reformation were the following:

i) constitutional amendment,
ii) juridical reform,
iii) land reform,
iv) provincial Internal Administration Laws reform,
v) Local Governance Bylaws revision,
vi) bureaucratic (administration) reform,
vii) Prime Ministerial and Ministerial authority provision,
viii) spreading education,
ix) Government Employees Bylaws,
x) Labour Relation Laws and the establishment of Labour Union Office,
xi) Pension Law for government employees,

xii) Civil and Penal Codes procedure,
xiii) National Five Years' Action Plan,
xiv) A Conflict of Interest Code.



PM Aklilu Habtewold with his cabinet ministers.

First row: General Mered Mengesha, Defence; *Teshafe T'Ezaz* Aklilu Habtewold, Prime Minister; *Ato* Yilma Deressa, Finance; *Ato* Abebe Retta, Agriculture; *Dejazmach* Kebede Tessema, Territorial Army.

Second row: *Ato* Tadesse Yakob, Commissioner of Pension and Civil Service; *Ato* Amanuel Abrham, Post, Telephone and Telegraph; *Dejazmach* Kefle Ergetu, National Security; *Ato* Seyoum Haregot, Minister of States, PM's office; *Ato* Ketema Yifru, Foreign Affairs; *Dejazmach* Germachew Teklehawariat, Public Health; *Bitwoded* Asfha Woldemichael, Justice; Major Assefa Lemma, Mines; Dr Minasse Haile, Information.

Third row: Dr Hailegiorgis Workneh, Mayor; Dejazmach Mohammed Abdurhman, Minister of State, Interior; *Ato* Salah Hinit, Public Works.

Fourth row: *Ato* Worku Habtewold, Vice Minister for Municipalities, Interior; *Ato* Belete Gebretsadik, Land Reform; *Ato* Getahun Tessema, Community Development, *Ato* Akalework Habtewold, Education; *Ato* Mammo Tadesse, Minister, PM's office.

To study and adopt these changes seven or eight commissions, drawn from different ministries, were established under the Prime Minsiter's office. The Supervisory Commission under my chairmanship included General Abye, General Mered and *Ato* Yilma. (For details see existing official documents.)

The Constitutional Reform Commission was chaired by *Ato* Abebe Retta and its members were Colonel Tamirat Yegezu, *Lij* Endalkachew Mekonnen, *Ato* Mammo Tadesse, *Ato* Ketema Yifru, *Dejazmach* Seyum Mammo, *Ato* Getachew Kibret and Mr. Paradise [?]. The rest of the commissions were also staffed by prominent government figures. The Land Reform Commission, for instance, was first chaired by Colonel Tamirat, succeeded by *Ato* Tadesse Yakob and later by *Ato* Akalework Habtewold.

When the commissions are through with one stage of the work, we sat for debriefings with the supervising committee. The meeting's deliberations were broadcasted on radio and newspapers.

The Constitutional Reform Commission submits its proposal for the supreme commission's consideration. After examining the proposal and endorsing it, we presented the final version to the Emperor. The Emperor did not comment for fundamental changes to be made. We followed the same ritual to assess the work of the commissions and to get it endorsed. The reform proposals were endorsed by the Emperor after consultation with the Crown Council and Council of Ministers. (For details, see the official document.)

Consequently, while I was Prime Minister, the following laws were formulated and became operational.

i) The second and third Five Years Strategic Plans of Ethiopia;
ii) Pension Policy and laws for Government Employees;
iii) Policy and Bylaws of Government Employees Administration;

iv) Employees and Employers Liaison Laws (Labour Relation Law);
v) Bylaw for Internal Administration of provinces (parliament did not want to promulgate this as a Law);
vi) Public Cooperatives' Policy;
vii) The Land Reform; the abolishment of tribute payment on church land; parliament was debating on a proposed law that concerns the relationship between tenants and the landlord. As members of parliament refused to pass the Land Reform Law, an alternative Article was prepared - the Landholding Limitation and a Registration form. (For details see the record from the Ministry of Land Reform file);
viii) Policy of Governance;
ix) Judges' Appointment Law and the extent of their authority;
x) Civil and Penal Codes procedure;
xi) Prime Minister's and Minister's authority and duties; and
xii) Military Service Law.

7.3 Organization of African Unity

Much effort was geared to establish the Organization of African Unity (OAU). I will briefly point out the major tasks accomplished.

a. The African continent was divided into three blocks, namely:

  i. The Casablanca group,
  ii. The Monrovia group, and
  iii. The Arab League groups.

b. The first meeting took place in Lagos, in 1961. Ethiopia played a major role at the meeting. While other African states were speaking in English, French and Arabic, Ethiopia was the only country which used a native official language: Amharic.

c. We made substantial effort to nest the Headquarters at Addis Ababa, where the preparation and signature of the Charter of Organization of African Unity ultimately took place.

7.3.1 The Addis Ababa Conference

- My office drafted the Charter with the help of a Latin American expert.
- It was presented for deliberations at the African Foreign Affair Ministers' meeting.
- The Foreign Affair Ministers wanted African leaders to examine the draft when they convene after eight days. Hence they wanted to postpone its signing for the next year.
- I began lobbying key Foreign Affair Ministers, such as Dr Fawzi, the Egyptian Foreign Affairs Minister, to get the Charter signed before the closure of the Head of States' meeting.
- The Foreign Affairs Ministers unanimously agreed on the final draft of the Charter before the meeting of the Heads of States began.
- While the Heads were making opening speeches, a commission of Foreign Affairs Ministers was pulling together the draft into shape. (We only had five days.) We get the Emperor to recommend to the Heads of states not to conclude the meeting without signing The Charter.
- The Foreign Affair Ministers' Council presented its report on which the members debate.
- We exhorted the Ministers who insist on postponing it.
- Finally, the Charter of Organization of African Union was officially signed on May 1963 at 5:00 a.m. at daybreak.



Aklilu welcoming Ghanaian President Kwame Nkuruma when the president came to Addis Ababa for signing of the African Union Charter.

7.3. 2 The Cairo Conference

- In 1963, it was agreed that the first meeting of the Organization of African Unity should be held in Cairo.
- We tried to the utmost to make Addis Ababa the seat of the headquarters of the Organization of African Unity.
- While the meeting was in session and the debate was in progress (August 1964), I proposed Addis Ababa to be the seat of the

Headquarter of Organization of African Unity. The Heads of States welcomed my proposal with a warm ovation.

- At the meeting the leaders unanimously passed a decision that boundaries of all states will sustain as were demarcated during the colonial period.

7.3.3 OAU's benefit to Ethiopia

Ethiopia has benefited tremendously from the settlement of the Organization of African Unity in Addis Ababa. Some of the advantages can be listed as:

a. **Economic**: At present the number of embassies has reached seventy; Addis Ababa became a centre for international meetings; and the Organization of African Unity became a source of employment.

b. **Prestige**: Various international organizations also based their Headquarters in Addis Ababa.

c. **Political**: The OAU contributed greatly when I experienced difficult political circumstances, e.g. with Somalia etc.

I persuade leading Western countries such as the USA, UK and France to nestle the Headquarters of the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) in Addis Ababa way to early before the opening of African Unity.

7.4 Efforts to boost our National Defence capacity

7.4.1 Meeting with American top officials

In 1953, I contended the Mutual Assistance Agreement signing with officials of the United States government in the following manner.

A) The Emperor instructed me to travel to the United States to purchase 12,000 firearms. At that time we were not allowed to buy any military weapons, even with our own money.

B) Upon my arrival in Washington D.C., I refused to discuss my mission with any other member of the United States government except for President Eisenhower. This was to forward our request to the most senior authority to give the matter greater weight. The officials refused my request and I kept waiting for five days. Finally I was given an appointment to see the president.

C) I explained to the president the purpose of my mission, he was greatly impressed. (The issue is too detailed.)

D) Right away he telephoned the Foreign Affairs Minister, Mr. Dulles and told him to arrange a meeting with me.

E) I requested General Mulugetta Buli to come immediately to assist me in the negotiation with Mr. Dulles. We were the only delegates throughout the discussions. I reminded Mr. Dulles of our previous dialogue at the Paris Peace Conference. The meeting was held in a good and friendly atmosphere. I expressed our need for assistance from the United State concerning weapons supply instead of purchasing them with our own budget. He said his department has the willingness but suggested that we need to convince Pentagon.

F) The State Department organized a grand meeting for us with Pentagon officials and Generals. We did a profound questioning and answering. Impressed with our explanations they gave us favourable responses.

G) We pressed on our discussions with the State Department on the following issues.

   i) The case of MAAG (Military Assistance Advisory Group),
   ii) The annual provision of arms and military equipment,
   iii) The Kagnew Base (telecommunication centre) at Asmara.



Discussion with USA President Dwight Eisenhower in 1960

Of these three, we endorsed with our signature the Military Assistance, and the Kagnew Base (telecommunication centre) at Asmara.

In summary, I can state it was generally due to my own efforts that we succeeded to obtain all the above-mentioned military equipment. The Emperor's felicitations telegram that was sent to me is deposited in the archives.

7.4.2 Dialogue with US government officials

During the United States - Cuba crisis, General Mered Mengesha, the Minister of Defence, visited United States. In 1966, the Emperor visited President Kennedy. As a result, the following military hardware were obtained:

- F 5 –8 [?]
- 2000 LB (for training) [?]

In the same year, the Emperor visited President Johnson and discussed the same issue. Present with the Emperor were General Woldeselassie Bereka, *Ato* Ketema Yifru and Dr Minasse Haile.

In 1970, the Emperor visited President Nixon and further discussed the issue of military assistance. Present with the Emperor were General Kebebe Gebre, *Ato* Mammo, *Ato* Ketema and *Ato* Minasse Lemma.

The Emperor again visited President Nixon in 1973 and discussed the same issue. President Nixon assured us that his government would give the matter a serious consideration. Present with the Emperor were General Kebede, General Assefa Ayene and *Ato* Minasse Lemma.

7.4. 3 The Ogaden issue

Regarding the Ogaden controversy, the *Council de Defence 64* was established, staffed by General Kenede, General Assefe and General Deresse Dubale. The discussions focused on financial, foreign issues and internal affairs. After my repeated appeal last about 7 to 8 months, in *Tir* 1965 [January 72?] the Americans agreed to give us six million dollars.

7.4.4 List of requisites

The American government requested us to submit a requisition and estimation of the cost. We submitted a list requesting the United States government $400 million for defence. The United States Treasury Secretary was asked to endorse the requisition. However, the Secretary delayed the matter on the pretext that it was still under review.

The Emperor's visit approached, and subsequently he made official visit in 1973. To avoid any further delay of our request by the United State government, I discussed the matter with General Assefa, General Kebede, and *Ato* Minnaase Lemma. We prepared another list with our minimum requirements.

7.4.5 Preparation to Travel

It was agreed that I should travel and present the new proposal. An appointment was requested with the United State government; however, before I could undertake this mission, the governmental crisis [of 1974] occurred.



Prime Minister and Madame Aklilu Habtewold.

List of Prominent Ethiopians Referred in the Book

(Names are listed alphabetically and dates are given to the Gregorian calendar)

Abebe Aregaye, *Ras* (1905-1960).
Governor; Minister in the Ministries of Defence, Interior; as well as Chairman of the Council Ministers.

Abebe Retta, *Ato* (1909-1974).
Minister in the Ministries of Public Health, Commerce and Industry, Agriculture; Ambassador and Crown Counsellor.

Abiye Abebe, Lieutenant-General (1916–1974).
Governor; Ambassador; the Emperor's Representative in Eritrea; Minister in the Ministries of Justice, Defence, Interior; President of the Senate.

Akalework Habtewold, *Ato* (1910–1974).
Minister in the Ministries of Education, Agriculture, Justice; and Ambassador.

Andargachew Messai, *Ras Bitwoded* (circa 1900-?).
Governor, the first Imperial representative in Eritrea; Minister in the Ministries of Justice, and Interior; and Crown Counsellor.

Asfa Wossen Haile Selassie, Crown Prince (1916- ?).
Haile Silassie's eldest son, Governor of Wello province and Crown Counsellor.

Assefa Ayene, Major General (1917-1974).
Commander-in-Chief of the Air Force; Minister of Transport and Communication.

Dawit Eqube'igzi, *Blata* (circa 1900-1974).
Deputy Mayor of Addis Ababa; Minister of State, Foreign Affairs.

Endalkachew Mekonnen, *Lij* (1927-1974).
UN Permanent Representative; Ambassador; Minister in the Ministries of Commerce and Industry, Post, Transport and Telecommunication; and Prime Minister.

Ephrem Teweledmedhin, *Blata* (circa 1900-).
Counsellor; Charge dé Affaire; Ambassador; and Crown Counsellor.

Haile Selassie I *Atse*, Emperor (1929-1975).
Emperor of Ethiopia from 1930 to 1974.

Kebede Gebre, General (1918-1974).
Governor; Minister of Defence.

Kefle Ergetu, *Dejazmach* (1907-1994).
Minister in the Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Commerce and Industry.

Lorenzo Taezaz, (Dr) *Blatengeta* (1900-1947).
Minister of Foreign Affairs; PM and Ambassador.

Mammo Tedesse, Ato (1924- ?).
Minister of State in the Prime Minister's Office; Minister in the Ministries of Justice, and Finance.

Mekbeb Damte, *Ato* (1901- 1996).

Vice Minister of Transport, Electric Power Authority, Municipality, Minister without Profile; Minister d'Eta of Post and Telecommunication.

Mekonnen Habtewold, *Ato* (1900-1960).

Minister in the Ministry of Agriculture, Finance, Interior; and Commerce.

Mered Mengesha, Lieutenant-General (1912-1966).

A.D.C. to the Emperor; Governor; Chief of Staff; and Minster of Defence.

Minasse Haile, Dr. (1930- ?).

Ambassador; Minister in the Ministries of Information; and Foreign Affairs.

Minasse Lemma, *Ato* (circa 1912- ?).

Minister in the Ministries of Finance, Mines and State Domain; Governor of National Bank of Ethiopia.

Mulugeta Buli, Major-General (1917-1960).

Commander of the Imperial Body Guard; Chief of Staff; and Minister of National Community Development.

Negga Haile Silassie, Major General (circa 1910- ?).

Governor and Ambassador.

Petros Sahilu, *Ato (*circa 1920- ?).

Assistant Minister, Ministry of Foreign Affairs; and Ambassador.

Tedla Bahiru, *Dejazmach* (1914 -?).

Chief Executive of Eritrea; Ambassador; and Senator.

Teferaworq Kidanewold, *Tsehafe T'ezaz* (1906-1974).
Private Secretary to the Emperor; Minister of Pen; Minister of the Palace and Crown Counsellor.

Weldegiorgis Woldeyohannes, *Tsehafe T'ezaz* (1902-?).
Minister in the Ministries of Interior, Justice; and Governor.

Woldemariam Ayele, *Blatengeta* (circa 1900- ?).
Minister of Interior; Head of Mining Department; and Minister to France.

Workneh, Martin, *Hakim* (Dr) (?).
Minister of the Ethiopian Legation in London.

Yelma Deressa, *Ato* (1907-?).
Minister in the Ministries of Finance, Foreign Affairs, Commerce, Industry and Tourism.

Zewde Gebrehiwot, *Bitwoded* (?).
Ambassador; Major; Minister of Interior; Governor; and President of the Senate.

Glossary

Aleqa	Chief Priest.
Ato	Common male title of respect, an English equivalent is Mr.
Atse	Emperor.
Blatta	Honorific title normally for court officials.
Blatengetta	Administrator of the palace, prominent court official.
Bitwoded	"The Favourite". High court Title often used with *Ras*.
Dejazmach	General, and normally governor, second only to *Ras*.
Fitawrari	Commander of Vanguard.
Grazmach	"Commander of the Left". Middle ranked military or administrative officer.
Kegnazmach	"Commander of the Right". Middle ranked military or administrative officer.
Lij	"Child/Son". Honorific title usually born by a descendant of a royal family.
Negus	King.
Ras	"Head". Duke, governor, held by leading nobility, second only to Negus.
Tsehafe T'ezaz	Head of the Royal Scribes; Keeper of the Royal Seal, a title for the Minister of Pen.
Weyzero	Common female title of respect, an English equivalent is Mrs.

Index of Personal Names

ከሁለተኛው የዓለም ጦርነት ፍጻሜ በኋላ ኢትዮጵያ ነፃነቷንና የግዛት አንድነቷን ለማስጠበቅ፤ በተለይ የቀኝ አገዛዝ ሰፍኖ በነበረበት ወቅት የተደረገውን የረቀቀ የዲፕሎማሲ ትግል መጽሐፉ ትምህርት በሚሰጥ መልክ አቅርቦታል። አፋምቦን ከፈረንሳይ፣ ጋምቤላን፣ ኦጋዴንና የተጠበቀውን ግዛት (The Reserved Area) ከታላቋ ብሪታንያ ማስመለስና ታላቋን ሶማሊያ ለመፍጠር የጊዜው ኃያላን መንግሥታት ሲያናፍሱት የነበረውን ሀሳብ ለማጨናገፍ የተወሳሰበና የረቀቀ የዲፕሎማሲ ክህሎት ጸሐፊ ትዕዛዝ አክሊሉ ሀብተወልድና የስራ ባልደረቦቻቸው እንደነበራቸው ከመጽሐፉ መገንዘብ ይቻላል።

ተፈራ ኃይለ ሥላሴ
(አምባሳደር)

The recollections of our former prime minister will now be accessible to the coming generations to learn and to judge his accomplishments. Personally, I find it hard to imagine how an individual in such a deplorable condition could find mental tranquility to write such a memorable account. I have learned quite a lot about the history of our country as well as the contributions of Prime Minister Aklilu Habtewold, which is far beyond what I could expect to gather in my archive.

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